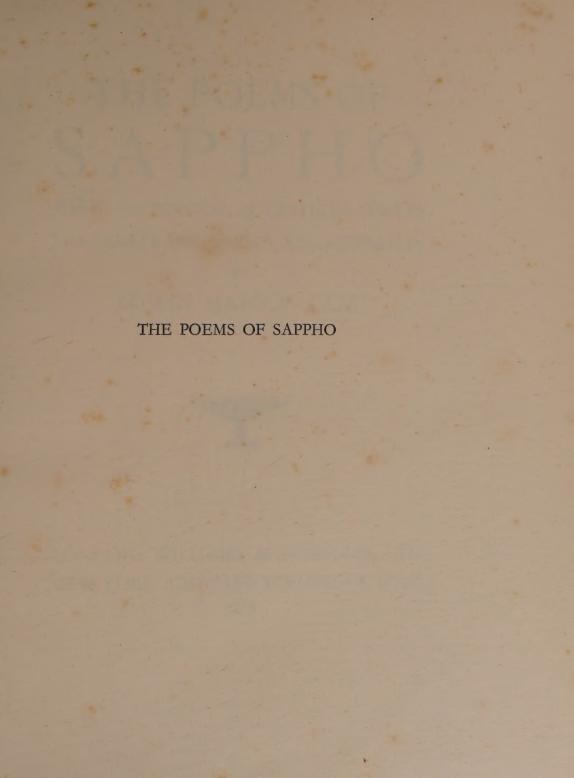




Margaret.
brom Gerald.
Xmas 1990.









# THE POEMS OF SAPPHO

WITH HISTORICAL & CRITICAL NOTES
TRANSLATIONS, AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

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# FOREWORD

HE general English reader, as distinguished from the classical student, has not had presented to him any edition approaching completeness of the remains of Sappho's poetic genius since that of H. T. Wharton, first published in 1885, and subsequently reprinted several times during the succeeding two decades. That edition was comprehensive and satisfactory as far as it went. The translations which it contained were however, not the work of its editor, but were reprinted by him from various sources and, since the publication of the book, a considerable quantity of new material has come to light in the fragmentary papyri found in the delta of the Nile. This present edition is an attempt to bring the subject more up to date, and at the same time to offer a number of new translations which it is hoped will be acceptable. In some instances a number of the older translations which seemed most suitable and interesting have also been printed. In the case of some of the fragments there have been previously only literal translations, and furthermore, some of them are so short and defective that they are insusceptible of anything but a literal rendering, though they often consist of words or phrases of great beauty, both in idea and in language. The plan adopted in this edition has

been to print first the Greek text, then the literal or prose translation, then a metrical version, adhering as nearly as possible to the meaning of the Greek, and finally, notes and commentary.

About twenty fragments consisting of one or two words only or such as are of doubtful authenticity, which are included by Wharton and others, have been omitted from the present arrangement.

With the kind permission of the Egypt Exploration Society, and of Mr. J. M. Edmonds the text with emendations of No. 3 has been included in the present volume. Other fragmentary poems which have from time to time been published by the Egypt Exploration Society, and emended and restored with very great industry and learning by several scholars, have not been reprinted. The amount of restoration is so great that the fragments, while of very great interest to the philologist and palaeographer, do not appeal very strongly to the general reader.

In the spelling of Greek proper names, when they are printed in Roman type, the form to which the English reader is accustomed has been adopted. Philological commentary and variant readings have, in nearly all cases, been omitted, as in the present state of the subject Mr. Edmond's arrangement in his "Lyra Graeca" offers all that the classical student, as distinguished from the general reader, can expect.

E. M. C.

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# **CORRIGENDA**

Page 73, last line, for "Chapter I" read "Chapter II."

Page 100, fragment 59, first line, for "τ κε θεῖμεν," read "τί κε θεῖμεν."

Page 111, fragment 88, for "téktontec" read "téktonec."



# THE POEMS OF SAPPHO

# CHAPTER I

## BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

ESBOS, the chief town of which Mytilene claims with Eresus the honour of having been the birthplace of Sappho, has been from the earliest ages famous for its fertility, its beauty, and the perfection of its climate. The nearest point of the mainland of Asia Minor is eight miles distant, and the whole island, with its irregular coast-line, is one hundred and thirty-eight miles in circumference. Though its surface is mountainous, the soil is very prolific, and its oil, wine, and grain have from immemorial times been proverbially celebrated. Even as early as the Homeric poems there are references to its wealth and its populous cities. Mitylene was the only Aeolian city which maintained a navy, and Lesbos had for generations many flourishing colonies in Asia Minor and in Thrace.

Methymna, Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha were the other four important towns which, at the period of its greatness, 700 B.C. to 500 B.C., caused the island to be known as Pentapolis. After the defeat of Croesus, about 546 B.C.,

Lesbos fell under Persian domination, but later was freed and joined the Delian confederacy. The subsequent somewhat dismal history of the island is of no interest to us at present, but the glories of the lyric poetry of its golden age have never sunk into oblivion and can never fail to be a source of inspiration to students of form and language in poetical composition.

It is obvious that after the vicissitudes of twenty-five centuries, the task of disentangling biographical details in connection with an individual however eminent, with any degree of accuracy and completeness must, in the nature of the case, be one of great difficulty. Almost every important writer of ancient times has suffered to a considerable extent from neglect, ignorance, or insensate destructiveness and bigotry, and if we were called upon to designate the period when reactionary forces had reduced culture, art, and literary appreciation to their lowest point, we should be right in choosing the six black centuries from about A.D. 400 to about A.D. 1000. The state of European civilization in general at that period is too well known to need comment, but it may be noted that among the writers singled out from time to time during some centuries for such assaults of bigotry and destructiveness were the ancient lyric poets, and it is a matter of knowledge that among these Sappho was a prominent victim. There is known to have been one orgy of such destructiveness about A.D. 380 at the instigation of Gregory Nazianzen, and another in the year 1073 when Gregory VII was pope.

Rome and Constantinople were the chief centres of this madness, and the value of what was destroyed on these and similar occasions is from the present-day point of view incalculable.

A consequence of such occurrences as far as Sappho is concerned is that, notwithstanding the esteem in which she was held by writers who came within a measurable distance of her epoch, her writings have practically disappeared, although a large proportion of the works of many Greek writers living not much after her have come down to us with something approaching completeness. For the story of her life we must depend upon the scanty, more or less casual, and sometimes hostile statements of writers who, in most cases, were, in point of time, further away from her than we are from Shakespeare. It is only by collating the statements of these later writers, while giving much greater proportionate weight to what was written by those who lived nearest to the period of her life, that we can arrive at even approximate accuracy in the details of her biography.

Sappho was the one woman poet in history to whom the somewhat misused term "great" may be justly applied. We do not know with certainty the date either of her birth or of her death, but the years from 610 B.C. to 570 B.C. may reasonably be assumed to have covered the most important

part of her life. Herodotus, who wrote within about one hundred and fifty years of her death, tells us that the name of her father was Scamandronymus, and in the absence of any trustworthy evidence to the contrary this statement may be accepted as true. Suidas, in his Greek Lexicon, written in the eleventh century, mentions other names, but great importance need not be attached to his statements in the face of what Herodotus has written upon the subject. The place of Sappho's birth was either Eresus or Mytilene, but if it were the former, she apparently did not remain there long, for tradition soon and ever afterwards associated her with Mytilene.

Among events contemporary with her life were the prophecies of Jeremiah about 628 B.C., the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C., the period of Solon in Athens, and of Pittacus in Mytilene. Terpander, the first important lyric poet of Lesbos, of whose works we have also only the scantiest remains, preceded her by about a century, and when she flourished Gautama Buddha had not been born. Sappho had two brothers, Charaxus and Larichus, and, according to Suidas, a third, named Eurygius, of whom, if he really existed, nothing is known. From Athenaeus we learn that Larichus held the office of cup-bearer at Mytilene, and as this office appears to have been a perquisite of the aristocracy, it is therefore with good reason inferred that Sappho and her family were patricians. Charaxus, the other brother, was a

merchant engaged in exporting the highly prized wine of Lesbos to Naucratis in Egypt, and it was apparently on one of his expeditions in this connection that he met the beautiful Doricha, surnamed Rhodopis, to whose charms he succumbed. At great expense he is said to have ransomed her from bondage. According to Herodotus, she later became very rich, and her name, no doubt without justification, was associated with the building of one of the pyramids. Suidas makes the statement that Charaxus and Doricha were married. If this tradition is founded on fact, it would indicate that there was considerable material prosperity in the family of Sappho. The poetess disapproved of the episode, and expressed herself in verse upon the subject.

There was one important event in the early life of Sappho of which we have direct documentary evidence, and that is her sojourn in Sicily. A celebrated inscription cut in a block of marble and found at Paros, now in the British Museum, professes to give a chronological account of the chief events in Greek history from the sixteenth to the third century B.C. Among the other statements which appear in this chronicle is one which tells us that when Aristocles ruled the Athenians Sappho fled from Lesbos to Sicily. When this flight took place the reason no doubt was that she and her family happened to be involved with the losing side in some political convulsion in her native island. She apparently remained in Sicily for some years, though she was still

comparatively young when she returned to Mytilene, for the tradition is that she soon afterwards married a man called Cercolas, who came from the island of Andros, and that later she had a daughter whom she named Cleis, after her own mother. One of the surviving poetical fragments refers to this daughter by name, but nothing more is known about her. To judge by the absence of any further reference to Cercolas, it may be inferred that he played no very important part in the life of Sappho, or that possibly he did not live very long. In any case, history gives us no later information concerning him. One episode, until comparatively recently always included in biographical accounts of the poetess, is that associating her name with the possibly mythical Phaon. Although this story of Sappho's alleged love for Phaon, who according to tradition was a boatman endowed with unusual physical beauty, was prevalent in ancient and mediaeval times, and although it helped to inspire the poetical efforts of many writers and has been handed down to very recent times as if it had some authentic foundation, there is no real reason to accept as true the statement that Sappho ever even saw the Leucadian promontory, much less leaped from it as the Phaon legend suggests. The story is no doubt a myth founded on an allegory tricked out in the meretricious trappings of mediocre poetical efforts, and it is probable that any other name than that of Sappho would have served as the incarnation of scorned femininity in the poems upon this subject. As noted elsewhere, modern English writers justly treat this Phaon legend as incredible and as one founded neither on reason nor on sound evidence. The whole story seems, indeed, to be a legend of a not infrequent type.

It is not known certainly how long Sappho lived, but from the expression repairepa, "rather old," which she uses about herself it may be supposed that she lived past middle life. Such biographical material is all too scanty, and it contains a considerable amount of conjecture, yet with it we must perforce be satisfied. Our knowledge of Sappho's life-history is never likely to be amplified materially, though there is always reasonable hope that in the future more of her poems may be recovered.

As already indicated, the position, climate, and natural resources were all favourable to a high degree of material and intellectual development in the island of Lesbos, and such a state of affairs did actually exist even in these early times. The commercial and material prosperity no doubt came first, but it is known that in the seventh century B.C., before the birth of Sappho, there was already in existence a considerable body of lyric poetry, as well as other evidence of artistic, musical, and literary culture in the chief centres of population such as Mytilene. There is, furthermore, evidence that in some ways the customs of the Lesbians differed from, and were in advance of, those of many of the other divisions of the Greek population. The women of Lesbos of all classes

enjoyed a freedom from restraint unknown among the other Greeks, and it may be reasonably assumed that this freedom, so enjoyed by them in earlier ages, had, with the increase in wealth, luxury, and refinement, lost much of its simplicity, and may later have degenerated into a mode of life in which there was much more licence than had ever been known before in any part of the world inhabited by people of the Greek race. However much such licence might be deplored, if its existence could be proved, it need not therefore be assumed that there was a generally depraved state of society. In the case of Sappho it serves no good purpose to concern ourselves very much with the morality of her sentiments and conduct. We should rather concentrate our attention upon the poetic depth, intensity, and value of what she wrote, and upon its philological and historical interest. One thing is certainly evident and that is that when we read those surviving fragments which describe love and passion, we need never look elsewhere for anything nearer perfection in intensity, in sound, and in rhythm in any language. However the question may be considered, there is no trustworthy evidence to prove that, at the time when Sappho lived, the moral standards in Lesbian society were low, and it is by no means certain that the decadence and corruption which did undoubtedly develop as time went on had even begun during her lifetime.

It should also be remembered that Scandal, like Death,

loves a shining mark, and such was Sappho for several centuries after her death. The invocation to Aphrodite for aid in securing the affections of a member of the same sex causes some suspicion that the expression of passion contained in it shows an abnormal element, but in endeavouring to reach a decision on this point, it must be remembered that there is no certainty that in the seventh century B.C. the word "Aphrodite" represented the same conception that it does in the twentieth century A.D., and there should not be too much haste in giving judgment upon social and psychological conditions of that early era. Furthermore, if we knew the age of Sappho when she wrote the poem, our conclusion would be influenced by that knowledge. If for example, it could actually be proved that the poem was the work of a girl of eighteen, a not impossible contingency in dealing with genius, our estimate of the psychology of its writer would differ widely from what it would be if we knew that we were dealing with the work of a woman twice that age.

Beginning two or three centuries after the death of Sappho there was a gradual development of a certain amount of obloquy in connection with her name, and as time went on this gathered force and definiteness, until, leaving her genius out of the question, her name came, to some extent, to connote decadence and depravity.

The first important disseminators of the scandal were the later comic writers who apparently attacked her reputation in the same way in which, by the use of satire and suggestive allusion, they attacked other famous individuals. They used Sappho merely as a celebrity whom they considered vulnerable, but they were certainly not attempting to conduct a moral crusade like some of their more sanctimonious and ignorant successors. From an evidential point of view these onslaughts may be safely disregarded. Later, during the Middle Ages, Sappho seems to have suffered attack, not on account of alleged moral depravity, but because she, like other lyric poets, wrote what some austere fanatics chose to consider frivolous and, according to their views, immoral poems. The attacks of this nature were against her works rather than against her character, and this is a distinction which must be kept before our minds in weighing much that has been written upon the subject. Many other ancient writers were treated in the same way. There were six comedies entitled "Sappho" and two entitled "Phaon" produced in the era of the Middle Comedy, all more or less scurrilous, and when we consider the way, for example, in which Socrates was lampooned by Aristophanes, we are justified in absolutely rejecting any account of Sappho which rests upon the authority of the writers of such comedies.

It has already been noted that in the golden period about 600 B.C. Lesbos was the centre of a rich and highly organized literary, social, and commercial life. At about that date there flourished an unsurpassed school of lyric poetry. In

the organization of academies or classes which reached a high degree of development in the study and production of such poetry, women often took a prominent part, their position among the Aeolian Greeks being better and less subject to social restraint than was the case anywhere else in the then known civilized world. Terpander and Alcaeus were natives of Lesbos, the latter a contemporary of Sappho, and there were several lesser lights among the lyric poets who were women. Sappho even in her own time easily overtopped all others of her sex, and she was called *the* poetess in the same way that Homer was called *the* poet. She was called also "the tenth muse," "the flower of the Graces," and was credited with having written nine books of lyrics.

We ourselves know from the fragmentary remains of her works left to us after the attrition of centuries that she was incomparable in the perfection of every line, in the felicitous correspondence of the sense and the sound of her words, and that she had a perfect command over all the most delicate resources of versification. This combination of qualities, almost marvellous, is exemplified over and over again in many of the all too truncated fragments with which we must, so far, be satisfied. From the time of her own epoch the works of Sappho have never been entirely forgotten, and since the Renaissance the fragmentary remains of her poems have been eagerly studied by scholars of almost every country. Her metre, her style, her choice of words both as to

meaning and sound, and her command of language in expressing emotion have been held up to us as exhibiting all that was most perfect in those particulars. Aristotle, in his "Rhetoric," mentions her three times, always with approbation, and there are many references to her in the works of various other writers before the beginning of the Christian era. In the time of Augustus there occurred the first revival of Roman interest in her works.

Of all those who, at that period, sought to imitate or adapt any part of them, Catullus was the foremost and most successful. He made the well-known Latin paraphrase of the ode preserved in its original Greek by Longinus, and he was more successful than any of his Roman contemporaries in entering into the spirit of the Greek rhythm. Horace also was a successful imitator of the Sapphic metre which he employed in numerous instances, but both he and Catullus were imitators, not translators or preservers. In the Augustan age a knowledge of the poems of Sappho was looked upon as almost an essential accomplishment among the Roman women of education. There was at this period a considerable amount of intellectual traffic between Rome and Athens, and a knowledge of the Greek language and literature was considered, among the educated classes, to be very important. Ovid's epistle, "Sappho to Phaon," belongs to this period, but whatever may be its poetical and literary merits, it may, from a historical and biographical point of

view, be safely disregarded. As will be seen later, this epistle of Ovid attracted some attention among English writers, but as far as Sappho is concerned their contributions to the subject are unimportant. To Dionysus of Halicarnassus our gratitude is due for the transmission to posterity of the Hymn or Invocation to Aphrodite, for it is only in his writings that this has been handed down in its entirety. His comment is sufficiently appreciative to cause astonishment that he did not think it worth while to preserve for us something else, and by so doing to magnify our indebtedness to him. Time, neglect, and ignorance have combined almost completely to annihilate the nine books of lyrics known to have been in existence at one period, except for the series of fragments which have been collected and published by various editors and commentators. The series begins with the hymn to Aphrodite in its complete perfection and ends with a collection of fragments consisting often of a word or two quoted by some prolix grammarian to illustrate a point of syntax or a dialectic peculiarity. During the past few years the Egypt Exploration Society has sent indefatigable workers to the delta of the Nile, and among other treasure trove there occurs a number, tantalizingly small it is true, of most interesting fragments from second and third century papyri of Sappho's works. These recovered fragments have been deciphered, translated, and from time to time published.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the

character of Sappho did undoubtedly suffer from attack both direct and by insinuation, and also because her name was often used by those who were merely repeating the unsubstantiated statements of others in order to personify something decadent and depraved. However, at the same time that this state of affairs existed some more appreciative and discerning writers were already calling attention to the pre-eminent qualities of genius which the then known remains of her poems patently showed.

It is, however, well to keep in mind the fact that, no matter what weight we may give to the evidence either for or against the spotlessness of the personal character of Sappho, a decision on this subject should not in any way influence our estimate of her poetic genius. Taking into consideration all of the facts and conjectures at our disposal, the most unfavourable verdict which could with justice be rendered upon the question of these alleged moral derelictions is one of "not proven." As to the personal appearance of Sappho, we have nothing but some untrustworthy tradition to assist us. She has been described as small and dark, and remembering her race, this may well have been the case.

There are really no contemporary authentic coins, statues, or medallions representing her in existence, although for many decades and even some centuries after her death she was represented upon coins, and more rarely upon vases. Such a vase of about the fifth century B.C., found at Agri-

gentum, shows Sappho and Alcaeus, each with a musical instrument. This vase is now in Munich. According to Cicero there was a fine bronze statue made by Silanion, which was stolen by Verres from the Prytaneum at Syracuse, and Christodorus also describes a statue of the poetess in the gymnasium of Zeuxippus at Byzantium in the fifth century A.D. Unfortunately, all trace of these statues has disappeared.

The Aeolic dialect in which Sappho wrote is the softest, smoothest, and most direct in expression of all the varieties of the Greek language. There are said to be traces of this dialect in the ordinary speech of the people of Lesbos even to the present day. In it the rough breathings were absent, there was a frequent throwing back of the accent, the digamma (F) was used to some extent, and 'H frequently became å, for example, ή σελήνη became å σελάννα. It should be noted in this connection that Sappho sometimes calls herself "Psappha," which is an Aeolic form of her name. This soft Aeolic Greek was a fitting medium for the rich and sensuous language and imagery of her poems, and the result is perhaps more pleasing than would have been the case had the circumstances of time and place caused her to use the crystalline and more finely chiselled Attic Greek of two centuries later.

It is very important to remember the part played by musical instruments in relation to the composition and recitation of the lyric poetry of Lesbos. Stringed instruments were popular, and of them there were several varieties in use, one of which, the Mhktic, apparently a sort of small harp, is said to have been first used by Sappho herself. One or two other varieties of instruments, also stringed, are mentioned, but at this late date their identification is uncertain, although in at least two instances their names are known.

To judge by what remains of them, many of the poems were particularly suitable for recitative chanting in conjunction with such musical instruments.

The metres in which Sappho wrote were several. used pre-eminently that known as Sapphic, but she also wrote in Alcaic, choriambic, and several others, all apparently with equal facility and delicacy. The metre known as Sapphic was not actually invented by Sappho herself, for it had been in use before her time, but she adopted it in many of her poems, and her use of it was so successful that it soon became associated with her name. Many of the fragments apparently belong to poems which contain very beautiful descriptions of natural phenomena or allusions to such things, and these have nothing to do with the passionate quality found in much that Sappho wrote. So much attention has been lavished upon these poems which contain descriptions of some sort of passionate devotion or invocation that the nature poems and some of those which evidently had a wonderful, wistful, and haunting quality of reminiscence, of hope, and of friendship have not had accorded to them the importance to which they are entitled.

Sappho has had her enthusiastic admirers amongst writers in almost all important languages, and those who have written in English have been in the forefront of this enthusiasm.

Among them all, John Addington Symonds, the translator of many of her poems, embodies his opinion in a few lines, well worth quoting. He says: "Of all the poets of the world, of all the illustrious artists of all literatures, Sappho is the one whose every word has a peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute perfection and illimitable grace." There is nothing to add to such words of concentrated praise, even if we possibly lag a little behind their writer in our own enthusiasm.

# CHAPTER II

## THE WRITINGS OF SAPPHO IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

THE history of the writings of Sappho, as far as translations into English are concerned, only begins in the seventeenth century, though before the middle of that period there was a considerable number of references of varying length and importance scattered through English books, chiefly on historical and poetical subjects. Although few of these early references to the poetess have anything to do with actual translation of the fragments, their character and occurrence have a certain interest and a bibliographical relationship with the later attempts at translation into English. Such references also serve as an indication of the mental attitude of writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries towards Sappho, and from them we acquire the impression that there was a gradual growth in appreciation and comprehension as the eighteenth century loomed into view, though this appreciation and comprehension were often clouded by the inability of these writers, owing to their imperfect knowledge and the prepossessions of their intellectual environment, to shake themselves free from the effects of the scandals launched by the later Greek comic writers, who were undoubtedly writing down to their

audiences in many of the comedies which they produced. It is to be hoped that some interest attaches to the tracing of references to Sappho in English books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in addition to the interest of the translations of her writings, in the narrower bibliographical sense.

Though her poems in the original were known to a few Englishmen in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, this knowledge appears to have been superficial with a large proportion of it infected with the Ovidian version of the alleged episode in connection with Phaon, for references to this and to the Leucadian rock legend, with a few doubtful biographical details from late classical sources comprise all that we have in English up to, as we shall see later, the appearance of John Hall's translation of Longinus in 1652. There was apparently no attempt to translate the magnificent Hymn to Aphrodite, although nearly every classical writer of anything like equal importance had some attention during this period. Much that was Greek we must, however, remember came to England in French or Latin versions frequently tinctured with the personal views of the translators into those languages. It is a fact worth noting that the Sapphic metre attracted certain poets and compilers soon after it was known in England, but the first attempts to use it in our language were not in the nature of translations, but of original compositions.

Apparently the first attempt to use the Sapphic metre in

English was made by William Webbe in 1586. This writer took his degree at one of the colleges at Cambridge in 1572 or 1573, and in 1586 published his book, "A Discourse of English Poetry, together with the Author's judgment touching the Reformation of our English Verse. By William Webbe graduate. Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Robert Walley 1586." The author turns part of Spenser's fourth Eclogue into English Sapphics which he describes as "homely"—a just description. He also says, "for in truth I am perswaded a little paine taking might furnish our speeche with as much pleasant delight in this kind of verse, as any other whatsoever." Of this book only two copies are known. Thomas Lodge, in his "Margarite of America," published in 1596, inserts a dedication "To the noble learned and vertuous Ladie, the Ladie Russell, our English Sappho." There is, however, no further reference to Sappho herself.

Another example occurs in Barnabe Barnes' "Parthenophil and Parthenophe," 1593, in which there are two attempts at lyrics in imitation of the Greek, one in Sapphics and one in Anacreontics. The first verse of the Sapphic poem goes as follows

"O, that I could make her, whom I love best, Find in a face, with misery wrinkled, Find in a heart, with sighs over ill-pined Her cruel hatred," and the other four verses are of the same somewhat jerky and undistinguished quality. In Davison's "Poetical Rhapsody," 1602, there is also an attempt at Sapphics in a set of verses supposed to be by the mysterious "A. W.," who contributed other poems to this rare anthology. A specimen verse is as follows:

"Hatred eternal, furious revenging, Merciless raging, bloody persecuting; Slanderous speeches, odious revilings; Causeless abhorring.

This is very vigorous, and also very rough, and a bad imitation of poetry noted particularly for its sweetness and melody.

In "Wits Theatre of the Little World," 1599, on leaf 72 of this curious collection of extracts from classical and mediaeval writers on all sorts of subjects occurs the statement that "poets fain that in Leucadia there is a very high steepe rocke which is a notable remedy to asswage love," and on leaf 152 it is said that "Lucilius was the first that wrote Satyres and Sappho the first poeme of love," the reference being to Pausanias. No other particulars of Sappho's life or works are given. In 1601 Thomas Campion and Philip Roseter published a book called "Lyrics, Elegies," etc., and in the Address to the Reader Sapphic verse is mentioned, and in the book itself an example is given. It is a sort of English

hymn in Sapphic metre, but there is no reference to the actual poetry of Sappho. The imitation is rather clumsy and has a somewhat sanctimonious ring about it. Again, in 1614 there was published a tract of sixteen leaves entitled, "The Martyrdom of Saint George of Cappadocia," etc. It contains two dedications, the second of which is signed "Tristram White." There is at the end a page devoted to what the author calls "Sapphicks," which resemble the real poetry of Sappho only in having the same number of syllables to the line. There is nothing of the true Sappho in the production, and obviously no appreciation of the greatness of her poetic genius. Ben Jonson in "The Sad Shepherd," Act II, Scene VI, used the expression, "the dear good Angel of the spring, the nightingale," which is decidedly reminiscent of Sappho's "Hooc ἄργελος ἐμερόφωνος ἀμδων, with which it is likely that such a good classical scholar as Jonson was familiar. Although a little later in the century the cultivated and learned Thomas Stanley translated the works of Anacreon and other Greek writers, Sappho either escaped his notice or he did not consider the fragments of sufficient importance to put into English, for no reference to them or their author appears in his volume privately printed in sections in 1650 and 1651, and re-issued by a bookseller in 1652 as a book for public circulation.

In Burton's immortal "Anatomy of Melancholy," first published in 1621, again in 1624, and in 1628 for the first

time with the engraved title-page, in Part 3, Section 2, there is a reference to "Leucata Petra," and it is stated that "here leaped down that Lesbian Sappho for Phaon on whom she miserably doted, hoping thus to ease herself and to be freed of her love pangs." This legend with its Ovidian handling seems to have been of perennial interest in the earlier days of classical studies in England, but as far as Burton is concerned Sappho as a writer of poetry might never have existed, and his remarks are only of incidental interest.

Apparently the first actual rendering into English of either of the two important Sapphic fragments occurs in an uncommon little book, a translation of Longinus on the Sublime, done by John Hall of Durham, the poet, in 1652. This volume, and another to be described later, seem to have escaped the notice of writers on Sappho, and both were certainly unknown to Joseph Addison, who definitely states in the "Spectator" that the translations done by Ambrose Philips in 1711 were the first in English. This book is a very small octavo, and the title, printed in red and black, reads as follows: " Περὶ "Υψογς or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence rendered out of the Original by J. H. Esq. London Printed by Roger Daniel for Francis Eaglesfield at the Marygold in Pauls Churchyard 1652." The collation is A-H, in eights. The portion of interest to us at present is § 8 which contains a translation of the ode beginning " DAINÉTAI MOI KĤNOC," for the preservation of which our thanks

are due to Longinus. As this is the first effort of its kind it is perhaps worth quoting:

"He that sits next to thee now and hears
Thy charming voyce, to me appears
Beauteous as any Deity
That rules the skie.

How did his pleasing glances dart Sweet languors to my ravish'd heart At the first sight though so prevailed That my voyce fail'd.

I'me speechless, feavrish, fires assail My fainting flesh, my sight doth fail Whilst to my restless mind my ears Still hum new fears.

Cold sweats and tremblings so invade That like a wither'd flower I fade So that my life being almost lost, I seem a Ghost.

Yet since I'me wretched must I dare."

The translator then goes on: "Thus did Sappho single out all those accidents that are either inherent or consequential to love and melancholy," etc. Hall's rendering of the text of Longinus is acceptable, but his translation of the Sapphic fragment is stiff and without distinction. His

attempt to reproduce the metre of the original, with four syllables instead of five in the last line of each stanza is a failure. This volume contains a long dedication to "My Lord Commissioner Whitelock," and a short address "To the Reader." The dedication is signed "J. Hall." He was also the author of a volume of poems in 1646, and of several other translations, some of which were unpublished at the time of his death at the early age of thirty-one.

When Edward Phillips in 1675 compiled his collection of biographical notes which he called "Theatrum Poetarum," he thought it desirable to add a chapter on ancient poetesses, and among these is Sappho of whom he gives a short notice occupying about one page of his duodecimo volume. She is described as "not inferior in fame to the best lyric poets," but no quotations are given and there is no description of the surviving fragments. The account is very perfunctory, and the unnecessarily manufactured tradition that there was a second and contemporaneous Sappho to serve as a packhorse for obloquy is mentioned, and as usual the Leucadian rock is brought in with the customary categorical definiteness. The greatness of the poetess seems to be in no way appreciated, and the influence of Ovid is obvious. Longinus soon had another translator. In 1680 there was published a book described on its title-page as follows: "A treatise of the Loftiness or Elegancy of Speech, Written Originally in Greek by Longin and now translated out of French by

Mr. J. Pulteney," then a quotation from Cicero and the imprint,—"London Printed by N.T. for John Holford Bookseller in the Pall Mall over against St. Alban's Street, 1680." This volume is duodecimo size and the translation is rather colloquial. For our present purpose Chap. VIII is the most interesting. It is headed: "Of Loftiness drawn from Circumstances" and the text reads as follows: "when Sapho [sic] would express the disorders of love, she calls to mind all the accidents which are either inherent or consequential to this Passion, but singles out such chiefly, as declare the excessive violence thereof.

'Bless'd is the man, thrice bless'd who sits by thee, Enjoys thy tongue's soft melting harmony Sees silent joys sit smiling on thy brow; The Gods themselves do not such pleasure know: When thou appears't, streight at my heaving heart My bloud boils up, and runs through every part, Into such Extasies of Joy, I'm thrown, My voice forsakes me and I'm speechless grown; A heavy darkness hovers o'er my eyes From my pale cheeks, the coward colour flies; Intranc'd I lie, panting for want of breath And shake as in an Agony of death. Yet since I'm wretched, I must dare, etc.'

"Don't you wonder how she brings together all these different things, the Soul, Body, Speech, Looks, etc., as if

they had been so many distinct persons just expiring?" The translation of the commentary of Longinus then proceeds. It is interesting to compare Pulteney's version of this second important Sapphic fragment, with the work of Hall already described. As it is not improbable that Pulteney knew no Greek, and as his version is filtered through the French, it is not remarkable that in this process the Sapphic metre should have disappeared and that considerable divergence from the original should have developed. There was a third translation of Longinus by an unknown author, published at Oxford in 1695.

The "Athenian Mercury," a curious seventeenth-century journal, which ran for a few years from 1691 to 1697 contains in the issue for 12th January 1691, in No. 13, Question 8, an interesting reference to Sappho, but no translation or quotation from her poems. Question 8 is "whether Sappho or Mrs. Behn were the better poetess." The reply to this query is somewhat rambling, but part of it is worth repeating, if only for its amusing qualities.

It is stated "That Sappho writ too little and Mrs. Behn too much, for us to give 'em any just or equal character" and further, "but yet one Fragment consisting of but a few lines which we have of Sappho's carries something in it so soft, luscious and charming even in the sound of the words, that Catullus himself who has endeavoured somewhat like 'em in Latin comes infinitely short of 'em, and so have all the rest who

have writ their own thoughts on that subject, -for which we cou'd wish that Mrs. Behn herself had translated 'em before she went to Elysium to meet her." The italics are in the original and the writer thus shows, as he apparently means the italics to indicate emphasis, that he had a real appreciation for the melodious qualities of the Hymn to Aphrodite, obviously the poem in his mind, although his seventeenthcentury imagination did not permit him sufficiently to differentiate between the studied salaciousness of Mrs. Behn and the ardent but somewhat detached passion expressed by Sappho. This sprightly lady's translation would no doubt have been interesting, but probably not too convenable, and perhaps the loss need not be deplored. We see again in the comment of this writer that the reputation of Sappho has suffered owing to the ignorance and lack of a just critical faculty on the part of those too ready to accept the scurrility of a few degenerate Greeks who lived centuries after her time and who were writing down to audiences themselves decadent.

Sir Thomas Pope Blount published in 1694 his book, "De Re Poetica or Remarks upon Poetry."

After a somewhat cursory and diffuse essay upon poetry and versification with copious quotations from Dryden, Rapin, and others, a considerable portion of this quarto volume is then given up to what are called "Characters and Censures." In this portion there is a two-page biography of Sappho, who is described as "an excellent poetess, called the

Ninth Lyrick and the Tenth Muse and is said to have written Epigrams, Elegies, Iambicks, Monodies, and nine books of Lyrick Verses; and was the Inventress of that kind of verse which from her is called Sapphick." There are a few biographical and critical details similar to those in the "Theatrum Poetarum," but no fragments are quoted and no translations are offered or even mentioned. However, the general tone of Blount's remarks is highly laudatory and appreciative. The Leucadian rock legend is not mentioned and the name of Phaon does not occur.

The first reasoned criticism of Sappho and her works in English did not appear until 1711, when in Nos. 223, 229, and 233 of the "Spectator," Joseph Addison gave us a more or less comprehensive view of the subject. He says that "among the mutilated poets of antiquity there is none whose fragments are so beautiful as those of Sappho," and he describes her as "not descending to those little points, conceits, and turns of wit with which many of our modern lyrics are so miserably infected." He repeats the legend connecting her with Phaon, and gives a circumstantial repetition of the Leucadian rock story. In the first-mentiond number of the "Spectator" he introduces a translation by Ambrose Philips, of what he calls the "Ode." Addison professed to believe that this translation had "all the ease and spirit of an original," and altogether praised it much more highly than we should feel inclined to do now. The

translation consists of seven six-line verses in rhyming couplets, but the mellifluous cadence of the Sapphic metre is entirely lost in an eighteenth-century jingle. The rendering itself is very free, and has suffered by thus diverging from the original. Addison gives also a translation of the ode preserved by Longinus, which has the same general characteristics as the first production, and is also from the pen of Philips. We may share Addison's feeling here expressed that he "cannot but wonder that these two finished pieces have never been attempted before by any of our countrymen," but part of our feeling is also astonishment that he should have been unaware of Hall's and Pulteney's two efforts. At the time when this was written only three important fragments of Sappho's writings were known, but Addison and Philips seem to have stimulated an interest in her poetry for there were soon other attempts with these poems, and also with a few other fragments. The Sapphic metre, however, seems to have been beyond the taste or comprehension of these eighteenth-century mediocrities, for so we may call them when we are comparing their efforts with the perfection of the Hymn to Aphrodite, which reaches a height to which they could not rise.

The attitude of the eighteenth century towards Sappho is very well shown by the inclusion, among other translations, of this Hymn in English from the pen of Mr. Herbert in the 1713-14 edition of the translation of Petronius Arbiter, a

writer studied by the few for his historical and literary interest and by a larger number for other reasons. This book, an octavo, contains in addition to the translation of Petronius "by several hands," versions of the works of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho. The Sapphic fragments occur on pages 325 and 328. Herbert's version of the hymn is perhaps better than the company in which it is found. It consists of eight four-line stanzas, the Sapphic metre being ignored. Whatever majestic beauty the original derives from this element in the poem is therefore lost, and the translator has allowed his preconceptions to interfere with accuracy in rendering. For example, λολόπλοκε becomes "most knowing in the mystery of love," a poor substitute for something more literal, besides containing a meaning entirely absent from the Greek word. Elijah Fenton, in his volume of "Poems on Several Occasions," published in 1717, thought it worth while to include "Sappho to Phaon, a Love-epistle, translated from Ovid," but for some reason, perhaps ignorance or lack of appreciation and understanding, he offered nothing of the real Sappho. He added, however, an epistle of "Phaon to Sappho," which he states that he thought suitable. His translation had already appeared in 1712 in a volume of miscellaneous poems, published by Lintott, a volume which also contained the first appearance in print of Pope's "Rape of the Lock."

Two years after their appearance in the "Spectator," the versions by Ambrose Philips were included in a volume of collected translations, described on the title-page as follows: "The works of Anacreon and Sappho done from the Greek by Several Hands, with their Lives prefixed. To which is added the Prize of Wisdom," etc. "Also Bion's Idyllium upon the Death of Adonis, by the Earl of Winchelsea. Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and Bible in Fleet Street and A. Bettesworth at the Red Lion on London Bridge 1713. Price 25. Where may be had Mr. Creech's Translation of Theocritus. Price 25. 6d." The book is a small octavo with an emblematic frontispiece. The preface is signed G.S., the initials of Sewell, and it states, erroneously of course, that Cowley was the first translator of Anacreon. Why Thomas Stanley was thus overlooked it is impossible to say. The portion of this volumed evoted to Sappho has a sub-title thus: "Odes of Sappho done from Greek by Mr. A. Philips," and there is a so-called life of Sappho occupying four pages, chiefly devoted to a somewhat fantastic exposition of the Leucadian legend. The translations themselves have already been noticed. It was some years after this before another translation of the poetess appeared in English. In 1735 John Addison published an edition of Anacreon and Sappho, in which at the end there is a section devoted to the works of the poetess. At the beginning of this portion of the volume there is an engraving by Van der Gucht, of a "busto" at

Wilton House. As was customary there is first a biographical account in which as much as was known or could be reasonably conjectured about her family and friends is set down, and the Leucadian legend is apparently accepted. The Sapphic portion of the volume extends from page 247 to the end at page 279. The author gives his own version of the immortal hymn, in which he says in twenty-eight lines what Philips said in forty-two, and he also gives translations of the other known fragments. As a translator he is certainly as successful as Philips, but there is nothing specially distinguished in his work in this connection. He justly rejects the mistaken chronology which made Anacreon a contemporary of Sappho. The Greek text in this edition is placed opposite the English version, and the Greek type is unpleasant on account of the number of ligatures. There are included eight of the shorter fragments.

This John Addison published an edition in English of Petronius in 1736.

"The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, Bion, Moschus, and Musaeus. Translated into English by a Gentleman of Cambridge," is the title of the small octavo published in 1760, and containing versions of the Sapphic fragments so far as they were then known. The author was Francis Fawkes, and he precedes his translations with a few biographical and critical notes. The translations themselves do not differ materially, in general, from those which had

preceded them. In his introduction Fawkes traverses Addison's favourable criticisms of Ambrose Philips, and calls certain of his lines "amazingly rough and awkward." He thinks that Addison's friendship for Philips may have influenced his judgment, and this is probably true. The next edition of the poetess was that in which the introductory poem entitled: "The Classic, a Poem" is signed E.B.G., initials which belong to E. Burnaby Greene. The book is called "The Works of Anacreon and Sappho, with Pieces from Ancient Authors and Occasional Essays," etc. The imprint is "London, Printed for J. Ridley in St. James' Street, 1768." It is a small octavo. The two chief portions of Sappho's works occupy pages 139 to 146 inclusive, and the so-called fragments, pages 165 to 169. The Hymn to Aphrodite occupies forty-two lines, and the translation is very free and decidedly mediocre. As was usual with his predecessors, this translator also ignores the Sapphic metre. The biographical remarks in this edition are stereotyped and uninteresting, and their uncritical writer, while admitting the genius of the poetess, is inclined to accept the scandals and the absurd Phaon legend. It is curious to note how every writer up to the nineteenth century was ready to accept the Ovidian version of this alleged episode, apparently without stopping to think that Ovid himself might be straining probability in order to indulge in the licence of a poet. In this edition ὤκεες στρογθοι become "feathered steeds," and

we may record the fact that the philological and historical footnotes have a certain amount of interest. Some years before this edition, in 1745, Akenside published his thin quarto volume of Odes. In Ode X he introduces a free paraphrase of the great Sapphic hymn, in which he has made a not wholly unsuccessful use of the material, but that is the most we can say for his effort. The beauty of the original evidently appealed to him, but its rhythm and metre were beyond his powers of conversion into English, or else he had no wish to go beyond a mere paraphrase. During the remainder of the eighteenth century there was not much done in the way of translating or editing Sappho. There were some reprints, for example, Ambrose Philips in 1748 and 1765, and Fawkes in 1789, and in 1799 a charmingly produced little book, called "The Wreath," and edited by Edward Du Bois, appeared. It contained selections from Sappho, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, with text, notes, and literal translations. It is a well printed volume, and the Greek type is very satisfactory.

It was not, however, until the nineteenth century was well under way that attention began to be devoted to the scientific treatment of the literary remains of the poetess. The study of the subject was stimulated later in the century by the discovery of additional fragments of her works, and, still more recently, during the last ten or fifteen years the Egyptian discoveries have tantalized us with several small but important

rewards for great effort, and have held out the alluring prospect of further good fortune in this direction. An interesting collection of translations from the Greek poets is that called "Collections from the Greek Anthology by the Late Rev. Robert Bland and Others." Of this there appeared in 1833 what was described as a new edition by J. H. Merivale, and for our present purpose the interest lies in the small section devoted to Sappho, in fact barely ten pages including the biographical and critical notice, which is very short. The Hymn and the Ode are turned into English Sapphics, and the other known fragments are likewise suitably translated, in nearly every case by Merivale, who was responsible for the rendering of the two important poems. The version of these is an improvement upon all that had gone before, though it is perhaps more the work of a scholar than of a poet, and in any case it makes evident the inherent and essential difficulty of filtering through the mind of the scholar the perfervid imagery and clean-cut, mellifluous diction of the poetess, without losing some of the beauty of the original.

In 1838 appeared the two-volume Pickering edition of Merivale's "Poems Original and Translated" in which the translations of Sappho are repeated. There were several other translations during the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, such as those of Elton in 1814, Egerton in 1815, and later, Palgrave in 1854, and Walhouse in 1877, but these do not call for special comment. They show, however, that

interest in the poetess was becoming more general in spite of the fact that for some years the stimulation of new discoveries was wanting.

In 1869 Edwin Arnold published his "Poets of Greece," a book covering much ground in comparatively small space. The portion devoted to Sappho extends from page 118, and she is called that "exquisite poetess... whose genius among all feminine votaries of singing stands incontestably highest," and is referred to as "the purest impersonation of the art of lyric song." Swinburne is rightly taken to task for repeating "the untrue and unnatural scandal against her sweet name which gossiping generations have invented," though credit is given to him for doing "brilliant justice to her deathless genius." Arnold rejects the Leucadian rock legend as well as the alleged Phaon episode. His translation of the immortal hymn into English Sapphic metre is easily the best up to the time of its appearance, and is only rivalled by that of J. A. Symonds, first printed in Wharton's edition of the poetess. The rhythm and the majestic lyrical qualities of the original are preserved in this rendering, but naturally something must be lost by the transfer of such a masterpiece from its original into any language. Arnold also gives translations of nine other fragments, and adds a number of illuminating comments. J. A. Symonds' own work, "Studies of the Greek Poets" which passed through several editions, is almost entirely historical and critical, not being much concerned with translations into English. Arnold was happily able to shake himself entirely free from the effect of the scandals which he so justly condemns, but, as we have seen, the earlier writers, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were too easily led astray in this particular. Donne's works afford an example of how difficult or perhaps impossible it was for even great writers to escape the effects of such scandalous traditions. They were far too ready to accept these stories, and to use them in connection with Sappho as a peg on which to hang some gaudy product of their own licentious imaginations. Donne's poem, published in 1633 and entitled "Sapho to Philaenis," is an instance. It is as impossible to deny to Donne the possession of poetic instinct as it is to assume that he had any particular tendency to exploit the indecent, so we must explain such poems as this by his ignorance of Greek and of all that concerned Sappho, except the unpleasant tradition which her name connoted at the time when he wrote. Some modern writers have also been guilty of the same sort of thing.

An important article on Sappho appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" for July 1871, by T. W. Higginson. It occupies ten pages, and in it the writer gives as much general information of a biographical and critical nature as was available at the time. He repudiates the calumnies of the comic writers of later centuries, such as Ameipsias, Amphis, Antiphanes, Diphilus, Ephippus, and Timocles who by the way are

known only by very scanty references, and he traces the Phaon legend to its Ovidian source. He mentions Welcker's important essay published in 1816, "Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit," this being a successful effort to clear away the obloquy for which willing credulity and a certain foul-mindedness among these comic writers had supplied the foundations upon which a later superstructure of scandal rested. Higginson's estimate of Sappho's genius was one of enthusiastic appreciation, and he subjects Mure to a number of hard knocks for his narrow-minded and unreasoning support of these comic writers. He offers versions in English of practically all the fragments known up to the time when he wrote, the Hymn, as might be expected, being the most ambitious effort, and of this he says, "it is safe to say that there is not a lyrical poem in Greek literature nor in any other which has by its artistic structure inspired more enthusiasm than this." He devotes a page to the legend of the Leucadian rock and treats it, as far as Sappho is concerned, as of little account and insubstantial. He also discusses the question whether such a poem as the Hymn to Aphrodite is in any way autobiographical. There should not, however, be any difficulty in arriving at a conclusion in this respect. The poem may be autobiographical, but is probably not so in the ordinary sense. It represents perhaps the autobiography of a poetic mood, a mood evanescent and transitory which no more represents autobiography

in the ordinary sense than do Hamlet's introspective musings

or the malign meditations of Iago.

In 1885 H. T. Wharton published his "Sappho," a choice example of bookmaking, a careful general bibliography of the subject in all languages, and an appreciation of the poetess and her writings which at once strongly appealed to the book-lover, the classical scholar, and the ordinary reader of good books. This edition, a small octavo, is unexceptionable in appearance and construction, and the Greek type used for the original text is dignified and agreeable to read. frontispiece, however, is distinctly the product of mid-Victorian ideas in conception and execution, and while it has a little interest as an ornament it has no value from the historical point of view. There is a bust of the Graeco-Roman period in the Galleria Geographica in the Vatican which appeals much more strongly to the imagination and is the most pleasing of all the reputed likenesses of the poetess. A photographic reproduction of this bust is used as a frontispiece in "Sappho and the Island of Lesbos" by Mary M. Patrick (1912). Wharton's book contains the first appearance of J. A. Symonds' rendering of the Hymn which shares with Arnold's the merit of being perhaps the best reproduction in our language of the cadence and rhythm of the original. It contains twenty-eight lines as in the original, and the Sapphic metre is successfully reproduced. This edition is a very complete compilation of text and translations, combined

with biography and criticism. It was reprinted in 1887, 1895, and 1898, each time with some additions. Before the appearance of Wharton's book, Swinburne had put on record what he thought about Sappho. In "Notes on Poems and Reviews," referring to his "Anactoria" he says, "the keynote which I have here touched was struck long since by Sappho," and he expresses regret at his feeling of inability to render into English what he describes as "the supreme success, the final achievement of poetic art." We could wish that he had not been so sensitive to the difficulties of turning into English the melodious cadences and the passionate rhythm of the Hymn to Aphrodite and the Ode, when he was composing his vibrant panegyric of the immortal poetess so that we might now have, in addition to a few fine translations, one from the pen of him in whom shone more brilliantly than in almost any other modern the incandescence of Greek poetic genius. It cannot be doubted that that effort would have been crowned with a great measure of success, though in one or two references to Sappho, Swinburne is inclined to extravagance, and Arnold's criticism of him, already mentioned, is justified.

In March 1894 the "Atlantic Monthly" was again the vehicle for an interesting and able article of seven pages, entitled "The Sapphic Secret," written by Maurice Thompson. This writer incidentally translates many of the shorter fragments usually literally, but does not attempt the two

long lyrics. He emphasizes "the amazing power of Greek words as words," and says that this is shown "in such a way that phrases like ripe fruit clusters seem bursting with a rich juice of passionate meaning." He notes also the marvellous "verbal economy" of Sappho, and the comprehensiveness and power of such a word as imepóφωνος. Critical appreciation, not translation, is the purpose of this article.

In 1903 J. R. Tutin published at Cottingham, near Hull, a small pamphlet in grey wrappers, which contained various selected translations of most of the Sapphic fragments, but without commentary and without Greek text. There is a short prefatory note explaining the reasons for the issue of the compilation.

A comprehensive discourse on the subject of Sappho was a lecture by Professor Tucker, of Melbourne, delivered in 1913 before the Classical Association of Victoria, and published in 1914. It is an appreciative and discriminating thesis, and among its other good points it gives short shrift to the Leucadian rock story and to the scandals of the Greek comic writers and their Roman plagiarists in this connection. Not much attention is given to English translations, except in using them to illustrate comparative poetical construction and form. Some writers, especially the earlier ones, emphasize the disadvantages of English as a language into which to translate Greek poetry, the inference being that English as a

language is unsuitable. It is not really that English is an unsuitable or inferior language for the expression of poetic conceptions, but that it is different, and that the transfer of perfection in one language into perfection in another is not within the bounds of possibility. Approximation is all that even genius can hope for in the attempt. A point, already noted, in connection with the construction and metre of the Sapphic poems is that they were probably nearly always accompanied by music on one or more of the stringed instruments for which Lesbos was famous at the time when Sappho lived. The early translators do not seem to have taken this into consideration, but have merely caught at the idea of the original and put it into the sort of rhyme with which they happened to be most familiar. The translation of στρογθοι by "sparrows" does not seem a very happy one in spite of its use by Symonds and some others. It is true that στρογθος means a sparrow or a small bird, but in English the word "sparrow" calls up a vision of the dingy and quarrelsome chatterer of the London squares, and such is certainly not the most poetically appropriate locomotive power for the brilliant car of the foam-born goddess in her flight " ἀιθέρος Διὰ μέςςω." Even others of the sparrow tribe lack dignity, though there may have been a Lesbian bird which seemed suitable to Sappho. According to Liddell and Scott the word is used generally for a bird, and by Aeschylus even to

mean an eagle; though usually a small bird is understood. Swan would perhaps be an appropriate, though perhaps not an exact, reading.

Part X, 1914, of the Egypt Exploration Society's publication of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri contains an important Sapphic discovery, apparently an almost complete poem of twenty-four lines which are nearly perfect. The poem has been emended by Mr. J. M. Edmonds of Cambridge, and it was published with a literal translation in the "Times" and in "The Classical Review" in 1914. Such discoveries keep alive in us the hope that the future may be still kinder to us and that some day the Egyptian sands will give up a considerable proportion of the nine books of lyrics. An interesting point in connection with this discovery is that Apollonius quotes a fragment which he gives as:

- - - - - - \*ΕΓω Δέ κθη ὅττω τις ἔραται.

We are now able to expand this into nearly the whole of a poem, for it is the ending of the first stanza of this addition to what remains to us of the efflorescence of Sappho's poetic genius, by good chance restored to us from the dry sands of Egypt. During the past decade a number of newly discovered papyri has, after immense labour by scholars, given to the world a few more fragments of Sappho's work. The latest and most complete collection of these is to be found in

Volume I of "Lyra Graeca" (Loeb Classical Series), 1922, edited by Mr. Edmonds. This book supplies the latest and most complete text of the poetess that can be offered to the classical scholar, but the emendations to some of the most recently discovered fragments are very extensive, tentative, and conjectural. Sappho and the Sapphic metre have always had an interest and an attraction for English adventurers in verse, and in most collections from the pens of the greatest and the least are to be found specimens of such imitations or paraphrase. A description of these, however, does not belong to a bibliographical account of the works of Sappho in English.

## ΣΑΓΦΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΕ-

οβίας αৃ້ομα είς Αφερή τω.

Γοικιλόθου αθάνατ Αφορδίτα, Παϊ Διός δολοπλόκο, λίωτομού σε Μή μ' άταισι μη η' άνίαισι δάμνα Γότνια θυμόν.

Αχλά τηθι ἐλβ ἀμποτε, κατ ἐρωπα, Τας ἐμας ἀυδας ἀίοις, ᾶς ποχλάκ Ἐκλυες πα Ες δε δομον λιποίσα,

Χρύσεον ήλθες

Αρμι του ζούξασα, καλοί δέ σ' άγον Ωκέες τρουθοί, πθέρυγας μθη αίνας Πυκνά δινέοντες άπι ώραν, αίθε-

**e9**ς Σφά μέσω. Αἶ τα ρ' ἔξίκοντο.τὸ ρ' ὧ μάκαιρα Μφηρόσασ' ἀθανάτω ποροσώπω, Ηρε' ὅΤι ρ' ὧ ὂ πέπονθα, κ' ὅΤι

 $\Delta \delta \tilde{\nu} e g na roi \mu i$ 

Facsimile of text in first printed Edition of the poems of Sappho, occurring in the *editio princeps* of Anacreon, Paris 1554.

Κ' ο τι γ' ε μῶ μαλις' ε το λω βρέ Δαμ Μαγολα το μῶ, લνα δ' αὖτε πειτώ, Κὰ ઉχωδισομ Φιλότητα · લς σ' ễ Σαπ Φοῖ ἀδικεῖ.

Kaj S aj Φδί Α, (a χέως διώξο.

Ai δί δως μη δίχετ, Σλλα δώσο.

Ai δί μη φιλος (α χέως φιλήσο.

Κ' "Τι κελδίης.

Ελλέ μοι κεὶ νιῶ, χαλεπᾶν δε λύσον Εκ μεριμυλῦ ο όσα δε μοι τελέσση Θυμος ἰμείρος, τέλεσον, σο δι ἀυτὰ Σύμμα χος ἐσο.

गोंड कांगांड एवं दिनेह.

Δέδι κε μθο ά σελάνα, Κα) πληάδες, μέσαι δέ Νύκλες, ωθο δι ἔρχεθ'ώρα, Εχώ ή μόνα καθεύδω.

## CHAPTER III

## TEXT AND TRANSLATIONS

I

Ποικιλόθρον ἀθάνατ ᾿Αφρόδιτα, παῖ Δίος, δολόπλοκε, λίςςομαί ςε με με ἀκαιςι με ἀνιαιςι δάμνα, πότνια, θύμον.

άλλά τγίδ ἔλθ, αἴποτα κἀτέρωτα τᾶς ἔμας αγόως αἴοιςα πήλγι ἔκλγες πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποιςα χργςιον ἦλθες

ἄρκι ἦποzεγΣαιτα, κάλοι Δέ τ ἄΓον ἄκεετ τροῆθοι περὶ Γῶτ Μελαίνατ πήκνα Δινεῆντετ πτέρ ἀπὶ ἀράνω αἴθε--ροτ Διὰ Μέττω.

αΐψα Δ' ἐἔίκοντο, εγ Δ', ὧ μάκαιρα, μειδιάςαις ἀθανάτφ προεώπφ, Ηρε ὅττι ΔΗἦτε πέπονθα κὧττι ΔΗἦτε κάλημι,

κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω Γένεσθαι μαινόλα θύμω, τίνα δηἦτε πείθω μαῖς ἄγην ἐς cản φιλότατα τίς τ, ὧ Ύάπφ, ἀδίκηει; καὶ Γὰρ αἰ ΦεΎΓει, ταχέως ΔιώΞει, αἰ Δὲ Δῶρα Μὶ Δέκετ ἀλλὰ Δώςει, αὶ Δὲ Μὶ Φίλει ταχέως Φιλήςει κωΫκ ἐθέλοιςα.

ἔλθε ΜΟΙ ΚΑὶ ΝΫΝ, ΧΑλεπᾶΝ Δὲ λΫCΟΝ ἐκ ΜερίμναΝ, ὅCCA Δὲ ΜΟΙ ΤέλεCCAI θῆΜΟΟ ἶΜΜέρρει ΤέλεCON, CY Δ' ΑΫΤΑ CÝΜΜΑΧΟΟ ĚCCO.

Immortal Aphrodite of the shimmering throne, daughter of Zeus, weaver of wiles, I pray thee crush not my spirit with anguish and distress, O Queen. But come hither if ever before thou didst hear my voice afar, and hearken, and leaving the golden house of thy father, camest with chariot yoked, and swift birds drew thee, their swift pinions fluttering over the dark earth, from heaven through mid-space. Quickly they arrived; and thou blessed one with immortal countenance smiling didst ask: What now is befallen me and why now I call and what I in my heart's madness, most desire. What fair one now wouldst thou draw to love thee? Who wrongs thee Sappho? For even if she flies she shall soon follow and if she rejects gifts, shall soon offer them and if she loves not shall soon love, however reluctant. Come I pray thee now and release me from cruel cares, and let my heart accomplish all that it desires, and be thou my ally.

1

Shimmering-throned immortal Aphrodite, Daughter of Zeus, Enchantress, I implore thee, Spare me, O Queen, this agony and anguish, Crush not my spirit.

П

Whenever before thou hast hearkened to me— To my voice calling to thee in the distance, And heeding, thou hast come, leaving thy father's Golden dominions,

H

With chariot yoked to thy fleet-winged coursers, Fluttering swift pinions over earth's darkness, And bringing thee through the infinite, gliding Downwards from heaven,

T37

Then, soon they arrived and thou, blessed goddess, With divine countenance smiling, didst ask me What new woe had befallen me now and why,

Thus I had called thee.

V

What in my mad heart was my greatest desire, Who was it now that must feel my allurements, Who was the fair one that must be persuaded, Who wronged thee Sappho?

VI

For if now she flees, quickly she shall follow And if she spurns gifts, soon shall she offer them, Yea, if she knows not love, soon shall she feel it Even reluctant.

VII

Come then, I pray, grant me surcease from sorrow, Drive away care, I beseech thee, O goddess Fulfil for me what I yearn to accomplish,

Be thou my ally.

A number of other versions in English are of interest for historical or poetical reasons. The first translation of the poem, that by Ambrose Philips in 1711, has chiefly historical and bibliographical importance.

## A HYMN TO VENUS

1

O Venus beauty of the skies, To whom a thousand temples rise, Gaily false in gentle smiles, Full of love-perplexing wiles; O goddess from my heart remove The wasting cares and pains of love.

П

If ever thou hast kindly heard
A song in soft distress preferred,
Propitious to my tuneful vow,
O gentle goddess hear me now.
Descend thou bright immortal guest
In all thy radiant charms confessed.

III

Thou once didst leave almighty Jove
And all the golden roofs above,
The car thy wanton sparrows drew,
Hovering in air they lightly flew;
As to my bower they winged their way
I saw their quivering pinions play.

TV

The birds dismissed (while you remain)
Bore back their empty car again.
Then you with looks divinely mild
In every heavenly feature smiled,
And asked what new complaints I made
And why I called you to my aid.

V

What frenzy in my bosom raged, And by what cure to be assuaged, What gentle youth I would allure Whom in my artful toils secure, Who does thy tender heart subdue, Tell me my Sappho, tell me who.

V

Though now he shuns thy longing arms, He soon shall court thy slighted charms, Though now thy offerings he despise, He soon to thee shall sacrifice; Though now he freeze, he soon shall burn And be thy victim in his turn.

VII

Celestial visitant, once more Thy needful presence I implore. In pity come, and ease my grief, Bring my distempered soul relief, Favour thy suppliant's hidden fires And give me all my heart desires. Among the translations of the nineteenth century that of John Addington Symonds is one of the best.

1

Glittering-throned undying Aphrodite,
Wile-weaving daughter of high Zeus, I pray thee
Tame not my soul with heavy woe, dread mistress,
Nay, nor with anguish,

П

But hither come, if ever erst of old time
Thou didst incline, and listenedst to my crying,
And from thy father's palace down descending
Camest with golden

TTT

Chariot yoked: thee fair swift flying sparrows
Over dark earth with multitudinous fluttering,
Pinion on pinion through middle ether
Down from heaven hurried.

IV

Quickly they came like light, and thou, blest lady, Smiling with clear undying eyes, didst ask me What was the woe that troubled me, and wherefore I had cried to thee; V

What thing I longed for to appease my frantic Soul: and whom now must I persuade, thou askedst, Whom must entangle to thy love, and who now, Sappho, hath wronged thee.

VI

Yea, for if now he shun, he soon shall chase thee; Yea, if he take not gifts, he soon shall give them; Yea, if he love not soon shall he begin to Love thee, unwilling.

VII

Come to me now too, and from tyrannous sorrow Free me, and all things that my soul desires to Have done, do for me Queen, and let thyself too Be my great ally.

Another good translation is that of Edwin Arnold, 1869, but it does not follow the original closely enough to be very satisfactory.

Ι

Splendour-throned Queen, immortal Aphrodite, Daughter of Jove, Enchantress, I implore thee Vex not my soul with agonies and anguish, Slay me not, Goddess!

II

Come in thy pity—come, if I have prayed thee; Come at the cry of my sorrow; in the old times Oft thou hast heard, and left thy father's heaven, Left the gold houses,

III

Yoking thy chariot. Swiftly did the doves fly, Swiftly they brought thee, waving plumes of wonder, Waving their dark plumes all across the ether, All down the azure.

IV

Very soon they lighted. Then didst thou, Divine one, Laugh a bright laugh from lips and eyes immortal, Ask me what ailed me—wherefore out of heaven

Thus I had called thee.

V

What was it made me madden in my heart so. Question me, smiling—say to me my Sappho, Who is it wrongs thee. Tell me who refuses Thee vainly sighing.

VI

Be it who that may be, he that flies shall follow; He that rejects gifts, he shall bring thee many; He that hates now shall love thee dearly, madly— Aye, though thou wouldst not. VII

So once again come, Mistress; and releasing Me from my sadness, give me what I sue for, Grant me my prayer, and be as heretofore now, Friend and protectress.

The translation of T. W. Higginson, 1871, is also good, but again it diverges unnecessarily from the original.

Ι

Beautiful-throned, immortal Aphrodite,
Daughter of Zeus, beguiler, I implore thee
Weigh me not down with weariness and anguish,
O thou most holy!

II

Come to me now if ever thou in kindness
Hearkenest my words—and often hast thou hearkened
Heeding, and coming from the mansions golden
Of thy great Father,

III

Yoking thy chariot—borne by the most lovely Consecrated birds, with dusky tinted pinions, Waving swift wings from utmost heights of heaven Through the mid-ether;

IV

Swiftly they vanished leaving thee, O goddess, Smiling, with face immortal in its beauty, Asking why I grieved, and why in utter longing I had dared call thee;

v

Asking what I sought, thus hopeless in desiring, Wildered in brain and spreading nets of passion:

Alas, for whom? and saidst thou, Who has harmed thee?

O my poor Sappho!

VI

Though now he flies, ere long he shall pursue thee; Fearing thy gifts, he too in turn shall bring them; Loveless to-day, to-morrow he shall woo thee,

Though thou shouldst spurn him.

VII

Thus seek me now, O holy Aphrodite!
Save me from anguish, give me all I ask for,
Gifts at thy hand; and thine shall be the glory,
Sacred protector!

There have been some other versions of the poem in English, but none particularly noteworthy. The Greek text of this great poem was preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was living in Rome about A.D. 25. His praise of it was unstinted.

φάινεταί μοι κθνος ἴσος θέοιςιν ἔμμεν ἄνηρ ὅστις ἐναντίος τοι ἶΖάνει καὶ πλασίον ἀδγ φωνεγ--cac Υπακογεί

Καὶ Γελαίτας ἐμπερόευ, τὸ Δὰ ἐμάν ΚαρΔίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν, ἀς Γὰρ εγίδον Βροχέως σε, φώνας ογδὲν ἔτ εἶκει,

άλλὰ κάм мèn Γλώςςα **F**έαΓε, λέπτον ἀ αΫτικα χρῷ πῆρ ἤπαλελρόμακεν, ἀππάτεςςι ὰ οἦλὲν ορμπ, ἐπιρρόμ--Βειςι ὰ ἄκογαι.

ά δέ μα ἴδρως κακχ έεται, τρόμος δὲ παῖς αν ἄγρει, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας ἔμμι, τεθνάκην δ' ολίγω 'πιδεή κην φαίνομαι [ἄλλα].

πῶν τόλματον [.....]

That one seems to me the equal of the gods, who sits in thy presence and hears near him thy sweet voice and lovely laughter; that indeed makes my heart beat fast in my bosom. For when I see thee even a little I am bereft of utterance, my tongue is useless and at once a subtle fire races under my skin, my eyes see nothing, my ears ring, sweat pours forth and all my body is seized with trembling. I am paler than [dried] grass and seem in my madness little better than dead. But I must dare all....

7

Peer of the gods, the happiest man I seem
Sitting before thee, rapt at thy sight, hearing
Thy soft laughter and thy voice most gentle,
Speaking so sweetly.

ΙI

Then in my bosom my heart wildly flutters, And, when on thee I gaze never so little, Bereft am I of all power of utterance, My tongue is useless.

III

There rushes at once through my flesh tingling fire, My eyes are deprived of all power of vision, My ears hear nothing but sounds of winds roaring, And all is blackness.

IV

Down courses in streams the sweat of emotion, A dread trembling o'erwhelms me, paler am I Than dried grass in autumn, and in my madness Dead I seem almost.

Another translation is that of John Herman Merivale, 1833.

Blest as the immortal gods is he, The youth whose eyes may look on thee, Whose ears thy tongue's sweet melody May still devour.

Thou smilest too?—sweet smile whose charm Has struck my soul with wild alarm, And when I see thee bids disarm

Each vital power.

Speechless I gaze; the flame within Runs swift o'er all my quivering skin, My eyeballs swim; with dizzy din My brain reels round

And cold drops fall; and tremblings frail Seize every limb; and grassy pale I grow; and then together fail

Both sight and sound.

A later and a better translation is that by J. A. Symonds in 1883.

I

Peer of gods he seemeth to me, the blissful Man who sits and gazes at thee before him, Close beside thee sits, and in silence hears thee Silverly speaking,

П

Laughing Love's low laughter. Oh this, this only Stirs the troubled heart in my breast to tremble. For should I but see thee a little moment, Straight is my voice hushed;

III

Yea, my tongue is broken, and through and through me 'Neath the flesh, impalpable fire runs tingling;
Nothing see mine eyes, and a noise of roaring
Waves in my ear sounds;

IV

Sweat runs down in rivers, a tremor seizes
All my limbs and paler than grass in autumn,
Caught by pains of menacing death I falter,
Lost in the love trance.

This apparently nearly complete poem is preserved by Longinus, writing about A.D. 250. He calls it "not one passion, but a congress of passions." It was also mentioned by Plutarch about A.D. 60, who referred to it as "mixed with fire"—a remarkably felicitous phrase.

The ode written by Catullus in imitation and called "Ad Lesbiam" is as follows:

Ille mi par esse deo videtur, Ille, si fas est, superare divos, Qui sedens adversus identidem te Spectat et audit

Dulce ridentem misero quod omnis Eripit sensus mihi; nam simul te, Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mi \* \* \* \*

Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus Flamma demanat, sonitu suopte Tintinant aures, gemina teguntur Lumina nocte.

This was actually the first of any of Sappho's poems to be translated into English. John Hall of Durham in 1652, in his translation of Longinus, gives his version which has already been quoted in the description of the book in Chapter I.

Ι

O]ὶ μέν ὶππήων στρότον οἰ δὲ πέσδων οὶ δὲ νάων φαῖς ἐπὶ Γῶν μέδαιναν ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον ἔΓω δὲ κθη ὅτ-τω τὶς ἔραται.

II

πά]γχη δ' εΫμαρες ςήνετον πόηςαι πά]ντι τ[οῆ]τ'. ἀ γὰρ πόλη περςκόπειςα κά]λλος ἀνθρώπων Ἐλένα [τό]ν ἄνδρα [κρίννεν ἄρ]ιςτον,

III

ος τὸ πὰν] céβας Τροΐα[ς ὅ]λεςς[ε, κωγλὲ πα]ῖλος ογλε [φίλ]ων το[κ]ήων μάλλον] ἐμνάςθη, ἀ[λλὰ] παράγας αἦταν πήλε φίλει]can,

IV

<sup>2</sup>Ωρος. εγκ]αμπτον γαρ [ἀεὶ τὸ θθλγ] αι κέ] τις κογφως τ[ὸ πάρον ν]ομςμ. ογ]ὰὲ νιῆν, ᾿Ανακτορί[α, τ]γ μέμναι Δὰ] παρειοῖςας,

V

τά]ς κε Βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε Βάμα κ]αμάργγμα λάμπρον ἴδην προςώπω η τὰ Λήδων ἄρματα κάν ὅπλοιςι πεςδομ]άχεντας VI

ε) μεν ἴΔ]μεν οἤ Δήνατον Γένεςθαι λῷςτ] ὀΝ ἀνθρώποις, πεΔέχην Δ' ἄραςθαι, [τῶν πέΔειχόν ἐςτι Βρότοιςι λῷον] [Ἡ λελάθεςθαι,]

With the emendations by Mr. J. M. Edmonds, the reprinting of which he has been kind enough to permit, a nearly literal rendering would be as follows:

Some say that the fairest thing upon the dark earth is a host of horsemen, and some say a host of foot soldiers, and others again a fleet of ships, but for me it is my beloved. And it is easy to make anyone understand this. When Helen saw the most beautiful of mortals, she chose for best that one, the destroyer of all the honour of Troy and thought not much of child or dear parent, but was led astray by Love, to bestow her heart far off, for woman is ever easy to lead astray when she thinks of no account what is near and dear. Even so, Anactoria, you do not remember, it seems, when she is with you, one the gentle sound of whose footfall I would rather hear and the brightness of whose shining face I would rather see than all the chariots and mail-clad footmen of Lydia. I know that in this world man cannot have the best; yet to pray for a part of what was once shared is better than to forget it. . . .

F

A troop of horse, the serried ranks of marchers, A noble fleet, some think these of all on earth Most beautiful. For me naught else regarding Is my beloved.

II

To understand this is for all most simple, For thus gazing much on mortal perfection And knowing already what life could give her, Him chose fair Helen,

III

Him the betrayer of Ilium's honour.
Then recked she not of adored child or parent,
But yielded to love, and forced by her passion,
Dared Fate in exile.

IV

Thus quickly is bent the will of that woman To whom things near and dear seem to be nothing. So mightest thou fail, My Anactoria, If she were with you. V

She whose gentle footfall and radiant face Hold the power to charm more than a vision Of chariots and the mail-clad battalions of Lydia's army.

VI

So must we learn in a world made as this one Man can never attain his greatest desire, [But must pray for what good fortune Fate holdeth, Never unmindful.]

In the volume of the Egypt Exploration Society, "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus," Part X, 1914, is printed this important fragment of a poem by Sappho. There are nearly six stanzas, and the editors, as well as Mr. Edmonds, have essayed the interesting and difficult task of emendation. In the "Classical Review," May 1914, Mr. Edmonds published his version as here given, and his result is somewhat different from that of the editors of the Exploration Society's volume. However, both sets of conjectures are plausible, and some are almost obviously right.

Mr. Edmonds has attempted the fuller restoration. The fragment with his conjectural restorations in brackets is as it is here printed. There is a very great deal of restoration in the last few lines, and in the "Classical Review," June 1914,

pp. 126-127, Mr. A. S. Hunt takes exception to some of Mr. Edmonds' emendations, giving the reasons for his objections. Without necessarily accepting in full the emendations of either, it may be admitted that the effort to make them is most interesting and scholarly, and that it makes a reasonable basis for suggesting the purport of the poem. In September 1914, again in the "Classical Review," Mr. T. L. Agar offers suggestions which differ in many ways from those of the other two commentators.

4

Αςτερες μέν ἀμφὶ κάλαν ςελάνναν αἶψ ἀπγκρήπτοιςι φάεννον εἶδος, ὅπποτα πλήθοιςα μάλιςτα λάμπης ἀργγρία Γάν.

The stars about the fair moon lose their bright beauty when she, almost full, illumines all earth with silver.

The gleaming stars all about the shining moon Hide their bright faces, when full-orbed and splendid In the sky she floats, flooding the shadowed earth with clear silver light.

Quoted by Eustathius of Thessalonica in the twelfth century.

αμφὶ Δ᾽ γἄωρ ψῆχρον ἄνεμος κελάδει δἰ ἤςδων μαλίνων, αἰθγοςομένων δὲ φήλλων κῶμα κατάρρει.

And by the cool stream the breeze murmurs through apple branches and slumber pours down from quivering leaves.

By the cool water the breeze murmurs, rustling Through apple branches, while from quivering leaves Streams down deep slumber.

The sound of the words, the repetition of long vowels, particularly  $\omega$ , the poetic imagery of the whole and the drowsy cadence of the last two words give this fragment a combination of qualities probably not surpassed in any language.

Κῶμα is something more than ordinary sleep; it is deeper with a quality of oblivion in it, and so differs from Υπνος, the more ordinary term. Poe in the "Haunted Palace" approaches this, when he writes:

Banners—yellow, glorious, golden, On its roof did float and flow. (This, all this was in the olden Time long ago.) But here there is just a suggestion of effort which is absent

from the work of Sappho.

This beautiful fragment is quoted by Hermogenes about A.D. 170. Demetrius, about A.D. 150, says that it is part of Sappho's description of the garden of the nymphs.

6

- 0 - 0 - 0 0 ελθε, Κήπρι, χργείαιειν ἐν κγλίκεσειν ἄβραις сүммемігме́νον θαλίαιει νέκταρ οἰνοχόειςα.

Come, goddess of Cyprus, and in golden cups serve nectar delicately mixed with delights.

Come hither foam-born Cyprian goddess, come, And in golden goblets pour richest nectar All mixed in most ethereal perfection, Thus to delight us.

Quoted by Athenaeus, who wrote in the first half of the third century A.D. The fragment is apparently part of an invocation to Aphrodite.

7 \*Η ce Κήπρος καὶ Πάφος ή Πάνορμος

If thee, Cyprus or Paphos or Panormos [holds].

This from Strabo, early first century A.D. Panormos was a frequent name, and does not refer to Palermo, which was not founded in Sappho's time.

8

Σοὶ Δ' ἔτω λεγκας ἔπι Βῶμον αἴτος - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 0 καπιλείψω τοι 0 0 - 0 - 0

But for thee I will [bring] to the altar [the young] of a white goat . . . and add a libation for thee. Cited by Apollonius of Alexandria about A.D. 140. The reading is uncertain.

9

Αἴθ' ἔτω χργοοστέφαν' 'Α΄φρόδιτα, τόνδε τὸν πάλον λαχόκν.

May I win this prize, O golden-crowned Aphrodite.

From Apollonius. Sappho invented many beautiful epithets to apply to Aphrodite, and this fragment contains one of them.

Αι με τιμίαν επόμεαν έργα τὰ εφὰ δοιεαι;

Who made me gifts and honoured me?

From Apollonius, illustrating Aeolic dialect in the word

II

- - - - Τάδε ηψη ἐταίραις ταῖς ἔμαιςι τέρπηα κάλως ἀείςω

This will I now sing skilfully to please my friends.

Athenaeus quotes this to show that there is not necessarily any reproach in the word etalpal. Like many others, this fragment is unfortunately too short for anything but a literal translation. The breathing of the word in question in Attic Greek would of course be rough.

12

- υ - υ - υ - Ο ΤΤΙΝΑΌ ΓΑΡ εγ θέω κθνοί με μάλιστα σίννον--ται. υ υ - υ

For thee to whom I do good, thou harmest me the most. From the "Etymologicum Magnum," tenth century A.D.

13 --- - - - "Ερω δέ κην ότ--τω τις έραται.

But that which one desires I.

Quoted by Apollonius and in 1914 found to be part of the poem in the "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus," No. 1231.

14
ταῖς καλαις Υμμίν [τὸ] Νόμμα τὧμον
οἶ διάμειπτον.

To you, fair maidens, my mind does not change.

From Apollonius to illustrate the Aeolic form YMMIN.

**15** - • • • • • \*ΕΓωΝ Δ' ἐΜΑΎΤΑ ΤΟΥ̂ΤΟ ΟΎΝΟΙΔΑ.

And this I feel myself.

Quoted by Apollonius to illustrate Aeolic method of accentuation,

- ταιςι [Δέ] ψῆχρος μέν ἔγεντο θῆμος, πάρ  $\Delta$  ἴειςι τὰ πτέρα  $- \vee - \vee$ 

But the spirit within them turned chill and down dropped their wings.

The Scholiast quotes this to show that Sappho says the same thing of doves as Pindar (Pyth. 1-10) says of the eagle of Zeus.

Another reading is YAPAPOC, "light," for YPXPOC, "moist or chill." The sense would then be, "the spirit within them became light and they relaxed their wings in rest."

17

- · · · · · · · κατ' ἔμον ετάλαςμον, τόν δ' ἐπιπλάζοντες ἄμοι φέροιεν καὶ μελεδώναις.

From my distress: let buffeting winds bear it and all care away.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum" to show the Aeolic use of z in place of cc. Bergk conjectures and for anemoi, "winds." The fragment is tantalizingly incomplete, as so many others are, and the reading of one or two words in it is not certain.

Αρτίως κ' ά χργςοπέλιλλος 'Αγως.

The just now the golden-sandalled Dawn [has called].

There could hardly be a more beautiful epithet than "golden-sandalled" to apply to the Dawn. It is fully equal in this respect to "rosy-fingered," and in Greek both words are beautiful in sound.

This is quoted by Ammonius of Alexandria about A.D. 400. to show Sappho's use of 'Αρτίως.

19

- - - - - - - - Πόδας δέ ποίκιλος μάςλης ἐκάλγπτε, Λήδι--ον κάλον ἔργον.

A broidered strap of beautiful Lydian work covered her feet.

Her shining ankles clad in fairest fashion In broidered leather from the realm of Lydia, So came the Goddess.

This fragment is very likely from an invocation to

Aphrodite. It is from the Scholiast on Aristophanes' "Peace," 1174; Pollux about A.D. 180 also mentions it.

20

- - - Παντοδάπαις μεμιγμέ--να χροίαιςιν.

Shot with innumerable hues.

Quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, i, 727. Sappho's reference may be to the rainbow.

2Ι "Εμεθεν Δ΄ έχειςθα λάθαν.

Thou forgettest me.

22

Or lovest another more than you do me.

Both from Apollonius to show the Aeolic emeben for emoŷ.

OY TI MOI YMMEC.

You are nought to me.

Ας θελετ Ϋμμες.

While you will.

24

καὶ ποθήω καὶ μάομαι.

I yearn and I seek.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum" to show the Aeolic form ποθέω for ποθέω, " I yearn."

25

Σκιδηαμένας ἐν στήθεσιν ὅργας μαψγλάκαν γλώςσαν πεφγλάχθαι.

When anger spreads through the breast keep thy tongue from barking foolishly (or idly).

When anger surges through thy heart Let not thy foolish tongue take part.

This piece of somewhat sententious advice is of an unusual

type amongst the Sapphic fragments. It is quoted by Plutarch in his essay, "On Restraining Anger."

26

Αἰ Δ΄ μχες ἔςλων ἴμερον μ΄ κάλων, καὶ μι τι εείπεν Γλῶςς ἐκήκα κάκον, αἴδως κέ ς ογ κίχανεν ὅππατ' ἄλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῶ Δικαίως.

Hadst thou wished for things good or noble and had not thy tongue formed evil speech, shame would not have shown from thine eyes, but thou hadst spoken frankly about it.

Aristotle ("Rhetoric," i, 9), about 330 B.C., says "base things dishonour those who do or wish them, as Sappho showed when Alcaeus said:

ιόπλοκ άγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι θέλω τι βείπεν άλλά με κωλύει αίδως.

"'Violet-weaving, chaste sweetly smiling Sappho, I would speak but bashfulness restrains me.'"

And she answered him in the words of the present fragment. Blass thinks that these two lines assigned to Alcaeus are also by Sappho, and about A.D. 1110 Anna Comnena certainly suggested the same authorship.

Στάθι κάντα φίλος,.... καὶ τὰν ἔτἶ ὄςcoic ἀμπέταςον χάριν.

Face me, my dear one . . . and unveil the grace in thine eyes.

Turn to me, dear one, turn thy face, And unveil for me in thine eyes, their grace.

Athenaeus says that Sappho addressed the poem, of which this is a fragment, to a man famous for his physical beauty. It has also been suggested that the lines may have been addressed to Sappho's brother. It need not, however, necessarily be assumed that any particular person is meant.

28

Χρήσεοι δ' ἐρέΒινθοι ἐπ' αἰόνων ἐφήσντο.

And golden pulse grew along the shores.

From Athenaeus.

29

Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μέν φίλαι μέταν έταιραι.

Lato and Niobe were most dear friends.

From Athenaeus.

Μνάσεσθαί τινά φαμι καὶ ἔστερον ἀμμέων.

I think men will remember us even hereafter.

From Dio Chrysostom, who, writing about A.D. 100, remarks that this is said "with perfect beauty."

3 I

Ήράμαν μέν ἔρω céθεν, Ατθι, πάλαι πότα.

I loved thee Atthis, once long ago.

From Hephaestion, about A.D. 150, quoted as an example of metre.

32

Σμίκρα μοὶ παῖς ἔμμεν ἐφαίνεο κάχαρις.

To me thou didst seem a small and ungraceful child.

Quoted by Plutarch and others.

33

"Αλλ' ὅνμὴ μεγαλύννεο δακτυλίω πέρι.

Foolish woman! Have no pride about a ring.

Mentioned by Herodian about A.D. 160.

Ογκ οιδ όττι θέω, δύο μοι τὰ Νοήματα.

I know not what to do: I have two minds.

In doubt I am, I have two minds, I know not what to do.

Quoted about 220 B.C. by Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher.

35

Ψαγή δ ογ δοκίμοιμ οράνω δίζει πάχες Ιν.

With my two arms, I do not aspire to touch the sky.

Quoted by Herodian.

36

\*Ως Δὲ παῖς πέδα μάτερα πεπτερήςωμαι.

So, like a child after its mother, I flutter.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum."

Ήρος ἄΓΓελος ἰμερύφωνος ἀήδων.

The messenger of Spring, the sweet-voiced nightingale.

Quoted by the Scholiast on the Electra of Sophocles, 149, "the nightingale is the messenger of Zeus, because it is the sign of Spring."

Compare Ben Jonson's "The Sad Shepherd," Act II, Scene vi: "The dear good angel of the Spring, the nightingale."

38

\*Ερος ΔαΫτέ μ³ ο λγειμέλης Δόνει, Γλγκήπικρον ἀμάχανον ὅρπετον.

Now Love, the ineluctable, dominates and shakes my being, and fills me with bitter-sweetness.

Now Love, the ineluctable, with bitter sweetness Fills me, overwhelms me, and shakes my being.

Quoted by Hephaestion.

\*Ατθι coì δ ἔμεθέν μεν ἀπήχθετο φροντίσδην, ἔπι δ' Άνδρομέδαν πότη.

But to thee, Atthis, the thought of me is hateful; thou fliest to Andromeda.

Quoted by Hephaestion with the preceding, to which it does not appear really to belong.

40

Έρος Δαγτ ἐτίναζεν ἔμοι φρένας, ἄνεμος κατ ὄρος Δργςιν ἐμπέςων.

Now Eros shakes my soul, a wind on the mountain overwhelming the oaks.

Now like a mountain wind the oaks o'erwhelming, Eros shakes my soul.

Quoted by Maximus Tyrius about 150 B.C. He speaks of Socrates exciting Phaedrus to madness, when he speaks of love.

"Ότα πάννγχος ἄςφι κατάγρει.

When all night long [sleep] holds them.

Bergk suggests that the words onnar awpoc may have preceded these words. The fragment is quoted by Apollonius, and its sense may be: "when all night long sleep holds their eyes."

42

\*ΑΓΕ ΔΗ χέλγ Διά ΜΟΙ Φωνάεςςα Γένοιο.

Come, O divine shell, yield thy resonances to me.

Come, O come, divinest shell, And in my ear all thy secrets tell.

Quoted by Hermogenes and Eustathius. Sappho is apparently addressing her lyre. The legend is that Hermes is supposed to have made the first lyre by stretching the strings across the cavity of a tortoise's shell.

43

Κἀπάλαις ἦποθήμιδας πλέκταις ἀμπ' ἀπάλα δέρα.

And delicately woven garlands round tender neck. Quoted by Athenaeus.

Γέλλως παιδοφιλωτέρα.

More fond of children than Gello.

Zenobius, about A.D. 130, quotes this as a proverb. The ghost of Gello was said by the Lesbians to pursue and carry off young children.

45

Μάλα ΔΗ κεκορημένας Γόργως.

Very weary of Gorgo.

Quoted by Choeroboscus about A.D. 600 to show the Aeolic genitive in  $-\omega c$ . Gorgo is mentioned by Maximus Tyrius with Andromeda as being friends of Sappho.

46

Έρω δ' ἐπὶ μαλθάκαν τήλαν οπολέω μέλεα.

But upon a soft cushion I dispose my limbs.

From Herodian.

This is a good example of the choice of words which combine meaning and sound poetically.

κθ δ άμβροςίας μέν κράτηρ ἐκέκρατο, Ἐρμάς δ ἔλεν ὅλπιν θέοις οἰνοχόμςαι. κθνοι δ ἄρα πάντες καρχήςιά τ ἦχον κάλειβον ἀράςαντο δὲ πάμπαν ἔςλα το Γάμβρω.

And there the bowl of ambrosia was mixed and Hermes took the ladle to pour out for the gods; and then all held goblets and made libation, and wished good fortune to the bridegroom.

Athenaeus quotes this fragment in two portions in different places. Lachmann first joined the two parts. The poem was evidently one of the Epithalamia.

## 48

Δέλγκε μεν α σελάννα καὶ Πληΐαδες, μέςαι δὲ νήκτες πάρα δ' ἔρχετ' ὧρα, ἔΓω δὲ μόνα κατεήδω.

The moon has set, and the Pleiades; it is midnight, the time is going by and I recline alone.

The sinking moon has left the sky, The Pleiades have also gone. Midnight comes—and goes, the hours fly And solitary still, I lie. The Moon has left the sky,
Lost is the Pleiads' light;
It is midnight,
And time slips by,
But on my couch alone I lie.

J. A. Symonds, 1883.

This singularly beautiful fragment is quoted by Hephaestion as an example of metre. With the "Hymn to Aphrodite" it was the first portion of the Poems of Sappho to be printed in 1554.

49

Πλήρης μένι ἐφαίνετ ἀ ςελάννα αἰ ἀ ἀς περὶ Βῶμον ἐςτάθηςαν.

The moon rose full, and as around an altar, stood the women.

Now rose the moon, full and argentine, While round stood the maidens, as at a shrine.

Quoted by Hephaestion as an example of the metre known as the Ionic a majore trimeter brachycatalectic. Poetically the figure is a fine one, and shows Sappho's wonderful power of visualizing a scene in a few unerringly chosen words. The moon and its light had a great attraction for her, as a number of fragments shows.

Κρήσσαι νή ποτ ὧΔ ἐμμελέως πόδες οι ἀρχεγντ ἀπάλοις ἀμφ ἐρόεντα Βῶμον πόας τέρεν ἄνθος μάλακον μάτεισαι.

Thus sometimes, the Cretan women, tender footed, dance in measure round the fair altar, crushing the fine bloom of the grass.

From Hephaestion as an example of metre. Blass thinks that this and the preceding fragment belong together. The whole is another example of the delicate imagery of Sappho.

51

\*Αβρα ΔηΫτε παχής επόλο άλλόμαν.

Then lightly, in an enfolding garment I sprang.

From Herodian as a specimen of metre. It may not be by Sappho.

52

Φαῖςι Δή ποτα Λήδαν ζακινθίνων [Υπ ἀνθέων] πεπγκαδμένον εγρην ὤίον.

They say that Leda once found an egg under the hyacinths.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum." It is uncertain what flower the Greeks described by the word "hyacinth" In this case the iris may be meant.

'Οφθάλμοις Δὲ μέλαις ηγκτος ἄωρος.

And dark-eyed Sleep, child of Night.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum."

54

Χργοσφάμ θεράπαιναν Αφροδίτας.

The handmaiden of Aphrodite, shining like gold.

In a manuscript of Philodemus about 60 B.C., found at Herculaneum, in which it is said that Sappho thus addresses Πειθώ. There is some doubt about this as the manuscript is defective.

55

\*Εχει μέν 'Ανδρομέδα κάδαν ἀμοίβαν.

Andromeda has a fair reward.

56

Υάπφοι τί τὰν πολγολβον 'Αφρόδιταν;

Sappho, why [celebrate or worship] most happy Aphrodite? Both of these are quoted by Hephaestion.

Δεγτέ νγη άβραι Χάριτες, καλλίκομοί τε Μοίςαι.

Come now gentle Graces, and fair-haired Muses.

Quoted by Hephaestion, Attilius Fortunatianus, and Servius as an example of the choriambic tetrameter used by Sappho.

58

Πάρθενον άδγφωνον.

A sweet-voiced maiden.

Quoted by Attilius, about the fifth century A.D.

59

Κατθνάςκει Κγθέρη, άβρος "Αδωνίς, τί κε θείμεν, καττήπτεςθε κόραι καὶ κατερείκεςθε χίτωνας.

Gentle Adonis is dying, O Cythera; what shall we do? Beat your breasts, O maidens, and rend your garments.

Gentle Adonis wounded lies, dying, dying. What message, O Cythera, dost thou send? Beat, beat your white breasts, O ye weeping maidens, And in wild grief your mourning garments rend. Quoted by Hephaestion and presumed to be written by Sappho from a passage in Pausanias.

The reverberating beat of the repetitions of the letter  $\kappa$  is very remarkable.

60

"Ω του "Αδωνίν.

O for Adonis.

Quoted by Marius Plotius about A.D. 600. It appears to be the refrain of an ode.

6т

\*Ελθοντ' έξ δράνω πορφγρίαν [έχοντα] περθέμενον χλάμγν.

Coming from heaven, clad in a purple mantle.

Quoted by Pollux about A.D. 180 to illustrate Sappho's use of the word xnamyc, which she is said to have been the first to use.

62

Βροδοπάχεες ἄγναι Χάριτες, δεγτε Διος κόρδι.

Come rosy-armed Graces, virgin daughters of Zeus.

The Idyll on a Distaff by Theocritus, according to the argument before it, was written in the metre of this fragment. Philostratus, about A.D. 220, refers to this as indicating Sappho's love for the rose.

- - O & Apeyc paici ken Apaicton arnn Bia.

But Ares said he would forcibly drag Hephaestus.

From Priscian, fifth century A.D.

64 ---- Πολλά δ' ἀνάριθμα ποτήρια καλαίφις.

Innumerable drinking cups thou drainest.

From Athenaeus.

65

Κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσεαι πότα, κωΫ μναμοσήνα σέθεν ἔσσετ οΫτε τότ οΫτ Ϋστερον. οΫ Γάρ πεδέχεις Βρόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κην ᾿Αῖδα δόμοις φοιτάσεις πεδ ἀμαγρών νέκγων ἐκπεποταμένα.

But thou shalt ever lie dead nor shall there be any remembrance of thee then or ever, for thou hast none of the roses of Pieria; but thou shalt wander unnoticed, even in the houses of Hades, flitting among the shadowy dead.

Forever shalt thou lie dead, nor shall there be any remembrance of thee now or hereafter, for never hast thou had any of the roses of Pieria; but thou shalt wander, eternally unregarded in the houses of Hades, flitting among the insubstantial shades.

Quoted by Stobaeus about A.D. 500 as addressed to a woman of no education. Plutarch also quotes the fragment, twice in fact, once as if written to a rich woman, and again when he says that the crown of roses was assigned to the Muses, for he remembers that Sappho had said these same words to some uneducated woman.

66

Ογα ΐαν δοκίμοιμι προσίδοισαν φάος άλίω ἔσσεσθαι σοφίαν πάρθενον εἰς ογδένα πω χρόνον τοιαγταν.

I think that no maiden shall ever see the sunlight, who shall have thy wisdom.

No maiden, I think, more wise than thou Shall ever see the sun.

Quoted by Chrysippus, and may be part of the preceding poem.

Τίς δ' ἀγροιῶτίς τοι θέλγει νόον, ογκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ Βράκε ἔλκην ἐπὶ τῶν σφγρών;

What rustic girl bewitches thee who knows not how to draw her dress about her ankles?

What rustic girl bewitches thee, Who cannot even draw Her garments neat as they should be, Her ankles roundabout?

Athenaeus and others quote these lines.

68

Ήρων έζεδίδας έκ Γγάρων των τανγείδρομον.

Hero of Gyara, that swift runner, I taught.

Quoted by Choeroboscus to show an Aeolic form of the accusative.

\*Αλλά τις ογκ έμμι παλιγκότων όργαν, άλλ' άβάκην τὰν φρέν' έχω.

I am not of a malign nature but have a calm temper.

Quoted in the "Etymologicum Magnum" to show the meaning of «Вакнс, "innocent," "unsophisticated."

70 Αγτάρ δραΐαι στεφανηπλόκεγν.

Then sweet maidens wove garlands.

Quoted by the Scholiast upon the "Thermophoriazusae" of Aristophanes to show that the weaving of floral garlands was a sign of being in love.

7Ι ---- Σή τε κάμος θερόπων Έρος.

Thou and my servant, Eros.

Quoted by Maximus Tyrius.

'Αλλ' ἔων φίλος ἄμμιν [ἄλλο] λέχος ἄρνγςω νεώτερον, οỷ Γάρ τλάςον ἔΓω Σγνοίκην νέω Γ' ἔςςα Γεραιτέρα.

For if thou lovest us, choose another and a younger spouse; for I will not endure to live with thee, old woman with young man.

From the Anthology of Stobaeus.

73

Εγμορφοτέρα Μνασιδίκα τᾶς ἀπάλας Γγρίννως.

More shapely is Mnasidica, than gentle Gyrinno.

Quoted by Hephaestion as an example of metre.

74

'Αςαροτέρας ογδαμ' ἐπ ιδ βάννα ςέθεν τίχοιςα.

One more scornful than thee, O Eranna, I have never found.

Quoted by Hephaestion. The reading is doubtful.

ΣΫ Δὲ στεφάνοις, ἄ Δίκα, περθέσθ ἐράταις φόβαιςιν, ὅρπακας ἀνήτοιο σγν μεραις ἀπάλαιςι χέρςιν, ἐγάνθεςιν ἔκ γὰρ πέλεται καὶ χάριτος μακαιρών μάλλον προτέρην, ἀστεφανώτοιςι ὰ ἀπγστρέφονται.

Do thou, O Dica, set garlands upon thy lovely hair, weaving sprigs of dill with thy delicate hands; for those who wear fair blossoms may surely stand first, even in the presence of Goddesses who look without favour upon those who come ungarlanded.

Athenaeus quotes this fragment, saying that according to Sappho those who approach the gods should wear garlands, as beautiful things are acceptable to them.

# 76

ΈΓω Δὲ Φίλημα ἀΒρος να καί μοι τὸ λάμπρον ἔρος ἄελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλος χεν.

I love refinement and for me Love has the splendour and beauty of the sun.

From Athenaeus.

77

Κάμ μέν τε τήλαν καςπολέω.

And down I set the cushion.

From Herodian.

'Ο πλογτος ἄνεγ ςεγ Γ' ἀρέτα 'ςτ' ογκ ἀςίνης πάροικος, [ Η Δ έΖ ἀνφοτέρων κράςις εγλαινονίας ἔχει το ἄκρον.]

Wealth without thee, Worthiness is no safe neighbour, [but the mixture of both is the height of happiness].

From the Scholiast on Pindar. The second line is apparently a gloss of the commentator.

79 Αγτα δὲ cỷ Καλλιόπα.

And thou thyself, Calliope.

Quoted by Hephaestion when discussing a metre of Archilochus.

80

Δαγοις ἀπάλας ἐτάρας ἐν ςτήθεςιν.

Sleep thou, in the bosom of thy sweetheart.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum." This fragment probably belongs among the Epithalamia.

Δεγρο ΔηΫτε Μοίται χρήτιον λίποιται.

Hither now, ye Muses, leaving golden [surroundings]. Quoted by Hephaestion.

82

\*Εςτι μοι κάλα πάις χργςίσιςιν ἀνθέμοιςιν ἐνφέρην ἔχοιςα μόρφαν, Κλήις ἀγαπάτα, ἀντὶ τᾶς ἔγω οὐδὲ Λγδίαν παῖςαν οὐδὶ ἔρανναν.

I have a fair daughter with a form like golden flowers, Cleis the belovedest whom I cherish more than all Lydia or lovely [Lesbos].

> A fair daughter have I, Cleis by name, Like a golden flower she seems to me. Far more than all Lydia, her do I love, Or Lesbos shimmering in the sea.

Quoted and commented upon by Hephaestion.

83

Πόλλα μοι τάν Πωλγανάκτιδα παΐδα χάιρην.

From me all joy to thee, O daughter of Polyanax. From Maximus Tyrius.

Ζά δ' έλεξάμαν όναρ Κυπρογενής.

In my dream, I spoke to the Cyprian goddess.

From Hephaestion.

85

Τί με Πανδίονιο ὢ τραννα χελίδων;

Why lovely swallow, Paudion's child dost thou [weary] me?

From Hephaestion. Another reading suggests աpana.

86

'Αμφί δ' άβροις λαςίσις εξ' με πγκας τεν.

She wrapped herself well in gossamer garments.

Pollux says that the line refers to finely woven linen.

87

Γλήκεια μάτερ, οἦ τοι Δήναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον, πόθφ δάμεισα παΐδος Βραδίναν δι ᾿Αφρόδιταν.

My sweet mother, broken by soft Aphrodite's spell, longing for a youth, I can no more weave the cloth.

My sweet mother! Fair Aphrodite's spell Has from me sense and reason all bereft, And, yearning for that dear beloved youth, No longer can I see the warp or weft.

Quoted by Hephaestion as an example of metre.

88

Raise high the roof beams, Workmen!
Hymenaeus!
Like Ares comes the bridegroom!
Hymenaeus!
Taller far than all tall men!
Hymenaeus!

Quoted by Hephaestion as an example of mes-hymnic poem.

Πέρροχος ὡς ὅτ᾽ ἄοιδος ὁ ΛέςΒιος ἀλλοδάποιςιν.

Towering like the singer of Lesbos among men of other lands.

Quoted by Demetrius about A.D. 150. It is possible that Terpander is meant, but the line may be merely a reference to Lesbian poets in general.

90

Οἶον τὸ Γλγκήμαλον ἐρεήθεται ἄκρφ ἐπ᾽ ἤελφ ἄκρον ἐπ᾽ ἀκροτάτφ, λελάθοντο ὰἐ μαλοδρόπηες, οἦ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ, ἀλλ᾽ οἦκ ἐδήναντ᾽ ἐπίκεςθαι.

As the sweet apple blushes on the end of the bough, the very end of the bough which the gatherers missed, nay missed not, but could not reach.

At the end of the bough—its uttermost end, Missed by the harvesters, ripens the apple, Nay, not overlooked, but far out of their reach, So with all best things.

Quoted by the Scholiast on Hermogenes and elsewhere. The "sweet-apple" to which Sappho refers was probably the result of a graft of apple on quince.

Οιαν των γάκινθον εν ογρεςι ποίμενες ανδρες πόςςι καταςτείβοις, χαναι δ επιπορφήρει ανθος.

As on the hills the shepherds trample the larkspur (?) under foot and the flower lies empurpling in decay on the ground.

O'er the hills the heedless shepherd, Heavy footed, plods his way; Crushed behind him lies the larkspur, Soon empurpling in decay.

Quoted by Demetrius, who comments on the ornament and beauty of the lines. Bergk was the first to assign the lines to Sappho. The last three words contain a picture of a crushed flower decaying on the ground, which would perhaps be impossible to put in so few words in any language but Greek. The Greek word Yakingoc does not mean the flower which at the present day is called "hyacinth." The Greek name was applied to several flowers of which one was almost certainly the larkspur, and another, as noted elsewhere, the iris.

Fécπερε, πάντα φέρων, στα φαίνολιο εσκέδας αγως, φέρειο οιν, φέρειο αίτα, φέρειο άπγ ματέρι παίδα.

Evening, thou that bringest all that bright morning scattered, thou bringest the sheep, the goat, and the child back to its mother.

Hail, gentle Evening, that bringest back All things that bright morning hath beguiled. Thou bringest the lamb, thou bringest the kid, And to its mother, her drowsy child.

From the "Etymologicum Magnum," where the meaning of afwc ("dawn") is discussed. The beauty of the fragment needs no emphasizing.

93

'Αϊπάρθενος έςсομαι.

Ever shall I be a maid.

From a manuscript in Paris, edited by Cramer.

94

Δώσομεν, μει πάτηρ.

We will give, says the father.

From the same manuscript as the preceding.

Θγρώρφ πόλες ἐπτορόςγιοι τὰ λὲ ςάμβαλα πεμπεβόμα, πίςγςτοι λὲ λέκ ἐξεπόναςαν.

To the door-keeper, feet seven fathoms long, and sandals of five bulls' hides, work for ten cobblers.

Quoted by Hephaestion as a specimen of metre.

96

"ΟλΒιε Γάμβρε, coì μέν ΔΗ Γάμος, ώς ἄραο ἐκτετέλεςτ ἔχεις Δὲ πάρθενον, ἄν ἄραο.

Happy bridegroom, now has come thy wedding as thou wished, and thou hast the maiden of thy desire.

Thou happy bridegroom! Now has dawned That day of days supreme,
When in thine arms thou'lt hold at last
The maiden of thy dream.

From Hephaestion.

97

Μελλίχιος δ' ἐπ' ἰμμέρτω κέχγται προσώπω.

And a sweet expression spreads over her fair face.

From Hephaestion. Compare Catullus, "Mellitos oculos" and "Pulcher es neque te Venus negligit."

'Ο μέν γάρ κάλος, ός τον ἴδην, πέλεται [ἄγαθος] ὁ δὲ κἄγαθος αγτικά καὶ κάλος ἔς ς ται.

He who is fair to look upon is good, and he who is good, will soon be fair also.

He should be good who is fair of face, And he will be fair whose soul has grace.

Galen, writing about A.D. 160, says: "It is better therefore, knowing as we do that youthful beauty is like the flowers of spring, its allurement lasting but a short time, to agree with the Lesbian poetess, and to believe Solon when he points out the same."

99

ΤΡ' έτι παρθενίας επιβάλλομαι;

Do I still long for maidenhood?

Quoted by Apollonius to show the Aeolic form HPA, the interrogative particle APA, and also as a specimen of metre.

Χαίροιςα Νήμφα, χαιρέτω δ' ο Γάμβρος.

The bride [comes] rejoicing, let the bridegroom also rejoice.

From Hephaestion as a specimen of catalectic iambic.

IOI

Τίφ c', ὧ φίλε Γάμβρε, κάλως ἐϊκάςΔω; ὄρπακι Βραδίνφ σε κάλιστ' ἐϊκάςΔω.

To what may I liken thee, dear bridegroom? Best to a tender shoot may I liken thee.

From Hephaestion as an example of metre.

102

... Χαῖρε, Νήμφα, χαῖρε, τίμιε Γαμβρε, πόλλα.

Hail bride, and all hail! noble bridegroom.

Quoted by Servius about A.D. 390, and referred to by Pollux and Julian.

Ογ γάρ μη ἀτέρα παῖς, ὢ γάμβρε, τοαγτα.

For, like her, O bridegroom, there was no other maiden.

From Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

### 104

- Α. Παρθενία, παρθενία, ποι με λίποις ἀποίχη;
- Β. Ογκέτι ήξω πρός εέ, ογκέτι ήξω.

Maidenhood, maidenhood, whither art thou gone from me? Never, O, never again, shall I return to thee.

Quoted by Demetrius, to show the beauty of Sappho's style, and her successful use of repetition.

105

Φαίνεταί FOI KĤNOC . . . .

To himself he seems . . .

Quoted by Apollonius to show the use of F in Aeolic Greek.

'Ωΐω πόλγ λεγκότερον.

[A thing] much whiter than an egg.

From Athenaeus.

107

Μήτ ἔμοι μέλι μήτε μέλιςςα.

Neither honey nor bee for me.

This is a proverb quoted by a number of late authors; It is an example of Sappho's successful use of alliteration.

108

Μή κίνη χέραδας.

Stir not the pebbles.

From the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius. Хера́дес were little heaps of stones.

109

"Оптаіс амме.

Thou burnest us.

From Apollonius, showing Aeolic form нмас, "us."

IIO

HMITYBION CTANÁCCON.

A napkin dripping.

From the Scholiast on the Plutus of Aristophanes to show the meaning of HMITYBION. This was a piece of soft linen for wiping the hands.

III

Τόν κόν παιδα καλεί.

Him she called her son.

From Apollonius to show the use of  $\mathbf{r}$ .

#### II2

Παιδες, ἄφωνος ἐοῖςα τόδ ἐννέπω, αἴ τις ἔρηται, φωνάν ἀκαμάταν κατθεμένα πρό ποδῶν, ᾿Αιθοπία με κόρα Λατοῆς ἀνέθηκεν ᾿Αρίςτα Ἐρμοκλειδαία τῶ Σαοναϊάδα, cὰ πρόπολος, δέςποινα γναικῶν, ἄ ςγ χαρεῖςα πρόφρων ἄμετέραν εγκλεῖςον γενεάν.

Maidens, though I am dumb, yet thus I speak, if any ask and place at your feet one with an untiring voice: To Aethopia the daughter of Leto was I consecrated by Arista, daughter of Hermocleides Saonaiades, thy servant, O queen of women; whom mayest thou bless and deign to glorify our house.

From the Greek Anthology. It is a difficult and obscure piece. Bergk has not attempted to restore the Aeolic form.

### II3

Τιμάδος ἄδε κόνις, τὰν ΔΗ πρό Γάμοιο θανογεαν Δέξατο Φερεεφόνας κγάνεος θάλαμος, ας καὶ ἀποφθιμένας πάςαι νεοθάΓι ειδάρφ ἄλικες ἴμμερτάν κράτος ἔθεντο κόμαν.

This is the dust of Timas whom the dark chamber of Persephone received, dead before her wedding; when she died all her companions clipped with sharpened metal all their lovely tresses.

Here rests the dust of Timas who, unwed, Passed the dark portals of Persephone. With sharpened metal, when her spirit fled, Her mourning friends each shore her fair-tressed head.

# The version of J. A. Symonds is as follows:

This is the dust of Timas, whom, unwed, Persephone locked in her darksome bed: For her, the maids who were her fellows, shore Their curls and to her tomb this tribute bore.

The verse is from the Greek Anthology.

"Ανθε' ἀμέργογεαν παίδ' ἄγαν ἀπαλάν.

A most tender maiden gathering flowers.

Quoted by Athenaeus.

### IIS

Πόλγ πάκτιδος άδγμελεςτέρα, χρήςω χργςοτέρα.

Than the lyre, far sweeter in tone, than gold, more golden.

Far sweeter than the throbbing lyre in sound, A voice more golden than gold, new found.

Quoted by Demetrius to show the poetical value of hyperbolical phrase.

# 116

Maximus Tyrius says that Socrates calls Love the wizard, while Sappho uses the term Μγθοπλόκος, "fiction weaving."

# 117

Aristides quotes Sappho as saying το Γάνος ... ογ Διαφθείρον τὸς ὄψεις, "the brightness ... not destroying the sight."

'Ροδοπήχεις και ἐλικώπιδες καὶ καλλιπάρμοι καὶ μειλιχοφωνοι.

With rosy cheeks and glancing eyes and voices sweet as honey.

Philostratus says that this indeed is Sappho's sweet salutation.

Aristaenetus says that Sappho in a hymeneal song uses the epithet μειλιχόφωνοι, "soft voiced."

# 119

Pausanias, about A.D. 180, says of Sappho that concerning love she sang many things that do not always agree with one another.

#### 120

Himerius, apparently quoting, says, "Thou art the evening star, of all stars the fairest, I think," and he says that the line comes from Sappho's song to Hesperus. Again he says, quoting: "Now thou didst appear like that fairest of all stars; for the Athenians call thee, Hesperus."

Himerius also refers to an ode which was apparently an imitation of the work of Sappho. This ode has been translated by J. A. Symonds.

The Scholiast on Hesiod, Op. et D., 74, says that Sappho calls Persuasion, 'Αφρολιτης θγγατέρα.

#### 122

Athenaeus mentions Βάρωμος and cάρβιτος, two stringed instruments in use in the time of Sappho. Their exact character is not known. He also gives the form Βάρμος for the name of the former instrument.

A few single words or short phrases attributed to Sappho have been preserved here and there by various writers. Some examples may be given, as they have a certain interest.

Eustathius speaks of a "vagabond friendship, as Sappho would say," καλόν Δημφέσιον—" a public good."

The "Lexicon Sequerianum" defines 'AKAKOC as meaning "without experience of ill," and says "so Sappho uses the word."

The "Etymologicum Magnum" defines 'Amamazýc as a vine trained on poles, and says that Sappho makes the plural ἀμαμάζεγδες. The same work mentions Sappho's use of the form αγως for τως, "the dawn."

Pollux says that Sappho used the word Βεγλος for a woman's dress.

Phrynichus, the grammarian, says that Sappho calls a woman's dressing-case where she keeps her scents, грүтн.

A Parisian manuscript (ed. Cramer) says: "Among the Aeolians z is used for A, as when Sappho says ZABATON for AIÁBATON, fordable."

Choeroboscus says: "Sappho makes the accusative of κίνδγνος, danger, κίνδγνο." Another writer says, κίνδγνο.

Photius, in his Lexicon (ninth century) says: " θάψος is a wood used to dye hair and wool yellow, which Sappho called ΣγλοΝ ΣκγθικόΝ, Scythian wood."

The Fayum fragments in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, brought there in 1879, contain among other things a very small scrap with a very imperfect text on both sides of it. The fragment is considered to be of the eight century A.D., and Professor Blass of Kiel ascribes the text to Sappho, judging by the metre and the dialect. There is a posthumous essay by Bergk on this subject in the fourth edition, 1882, of his "Poetae Lyrici Graeci," but the text of the fragments is so exceedingly imperfect that attempts at restoration are the merest conjectures.

Finally, the following verse may be quoted:

Κείνον ἄ χργούθρονε Μογό, ἔνισπες Υμνον ἐκ τάς καλλιγήναικος ἐςθλάς .ΤΗΙΟς χώρας ὅν ἀείδε τερπνῶς πρέςΒγο ἀγαγός.

O Muse, golden throned, sing that strain which the revered elder of Teos, from the rich land of fair women, sang so melodiously.

This verse was almost certainly not written by Sappho. Athenaeus says that "Hermesianax was mistaken when he represented Sappho and Anacreon as contemporaries, for Anacreon lived in the time of Cyrus and Polycrates [about 563-478 B.C.], while Sappho lived in the reign of Alyattes, father of Croesus." It is extremely improbable that Sappho was still living when Anacreon was born.

### CHAPTER IV

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF PRINTED BOOKS, CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED, WHICH REFER TO SAPPHO AND HER POEMS.

PRISCIANUS. De Octo Partibus Orationis. Venice, Vindelin de Spire, 1470.

—— Opera Grammatica. No place or date, but perhaps Ulric Hahn, about 1470.

— Opera Grammatica Omnia, cum Rufino de Metris, et Dionysio de Situ Orbis. Same type as first edition, but is dated 1472. Venice.

MERULA Alexandrinus Georgius Commentarium in Sapphus Epistolam. Venice, 1475. 4to. Reprinted 1499, 1510, and 1528 with additional commentaries by Badius, Calderinus, and Egnatius.

Disceptatio oratorum duorum regum Romani scilicet et Franci super raptu Illustrissime Ducisse Britannice. 4to. 1492. Probably printed at Heidelberg. This book contains two poems in Latin Sapphics, but these are of little interest except as early examples of imitation of the Sapphic metre.

ZENOBIUS. Epitome. Florence, Giunta, 1497. The first

book from the Giunta press.

Suidas. Lexicon graecum. Mediolani, Johannes Bissolus et Benedictus Mangius, 1499. Fol. Graec. car., 516 ff. n.n. Mark of Bissolus et Mangius (Kristeller 67). The first printed edition of Suidas.

Etymologicum Magnum Graecum. Venice, 1499. Large folio. Preface by M. Musurus. Zaccharia Calliergi.

Pollux, Julius. Vocabularium Graece. Venice, Aldus, 1502; and again Florence, Giunta, 1520.

HERODIANUS. The Greek text of Herodian was printed for the first time in 1503 by Aldus, in connection with the "Omissa Xenophontis."

PLUTARCH. Plutarchi Opuscula LXXXXII. Venice, Aldus, 1509.

— Vitae Illustrium Virorum. Venice, Aldus, 1519.

ATHENAEUS. First edition, printed by Aldus in Venice, 1514. Folio.

Apollonius. De Constructione, etc. The first printed edition was done by Aldus in Venice in 1495, and was issued with the Grammar of Theodore Gaza. Also Florence, Giunta, 1515.

STRABO. De Situ Orbis. First edition printed by Aldus in Venice, 1516. Folio.

Phrynichus. Eclogae nominum et Verborum Atticorum, Graece. Romae, Z. Calliergi, 1517. 8vo.

HEPHAESTION. The first edition of the Enchiridion printed in Greek by the Giunta in Florence, 1526. It is frequently

joined to the Greek grammar of the same date and the same publishers.

HERMOGENES. Ars Rhetorica Absolutissima, etc. First edition, printed in Paris, 1530-1531. C. Wechelius. Four parts.

Stobaeus. Collectiones Sententiarum. First edition. Venice, 1536.

Dionysii Halicarnassei Antiquitatem Romanarum, Lib. X. Lutetiae, Stephanus, 1546. Second part in same volume, 1547.

Demetrius Phalereus. De Elocutione. Florentiae apud Juntas, 1552. 8vo. First separate edition. Originally printed in Rhetores Graeci, published by Aldus.

LONGINUS. Oporinus. Bâle, 1554. Folio. First edition. ANAKPEONTOΣ ΤΗΙΟΥ ΜέλΗ. Anacreontis Teii Odae. Ab Henrico Stephano luce et Latinitate nunc primum donatae. Lutetiae. Apud Henricum Stephanum. MDLIIII. Ex Privilegio Regis. 4to. Editio Princeps of Anacreon and Sappho. This volume contains, in addition to the works of Anacreon, four fragments of Alcaeus, and Sappho's Hymn to Aphrodite, and one other fragment, beginning Δέλγκε μέν δ΄ CΕΛάΝΝΑ.

This quarto edition was reprinted in 1556 in octavo. In addition to the two poems of Sappho already printed, we have in this volume also, for the first time, the ode beginning painetai MOI KHNOC icoc BEOICIN. There

are likewise the fragments of Alcaeus, and one or two other lyric poets. The imprint of the volume is: "Parisiis MDLVI. Apud Guil. Morelium in Graecis typographum. Regium et Rob. Stephanum." This book and its predecessor are well printed, though the Greek type is rather trying on account of the ligatures.

Andreas, Elias. Anacreontis Teii antiquissimi poetae Lyrici Odae, ab Helia Andrea Latinae factae. Lutetiae,

1556. 16mo.

STEPHANUS, HENRICUS. Carminum Poetarum novem, lyricae poeseos principū fragmenta... Sapphus (pp. 37-71)... nonnulla etiam aliorum. Editio secunda. Paris, 1566. 16mo. Prefixed to the text is: Sapphus vita, ex Lilii Greg. Gyraldi dialogo IX. De poetarum historia. Reprinted in 1660 and other years.

Ursinus, Fulvius. Carmina novem illustrium feminarum,

Sapphus (pp. 2-36), etc. Antwerp, 1568. 8vo.

LILLY, JOHN ("the Euphuist"). Sapho and Phao, played before the Queen's Majesty on Shrove Tuesday, by her Majesty's children and the Boys of St. Paul's. London, 1584. 4to.

Webbe, William. A Discourse of English Poetry together with the author's judgment touching the Reformation of our English Verse. By William Webbe, Graduate, Imprinted at London by John Charlewood for Robert Walley, 1586.

The author turns part of Spenser's fourth ecloque into Sapphics which he describes as "homely." 8vo. There are only two copies of this book known.

Barnes, B. Parthenophil and Parthenope. Barnabe Barnes. 1593. 4to. This contains two attempts to imitate Greek lyrics, one of Sappho and one of Anacreon.

Wits Theatre of the Little World. 1599. 8vo. Leaf 152 for reference to Sappho.

CAMPION, T., and ROSETER, P. Lyrics, Elegies, etc., by Thomas Campion and Philip Roseter, 1601, contains an imitation of the Sapphic metre in English.

Davison's Poetical Rhapsody. 1602. 8vo. This contains an attempt at Sapphics in English by the mysterious "A.W."

The Martyrdom of St. George of Cappadocia. 1614. 4to. Contains an imitation of Sappho's metre.

HALL, J. Περὶ Ύψογο or Dionysius Longinus of the Height of Eloquence rendered out of the Original by J[ohn] H[all]. London, 1652. This small book contains the first translation into English of the actual work of Sappho.

Cappone, Francesco Antonio. Liriche Parafrasi di D. Francesco Antonio Cappone, Academico ozioso. Supra tutte l'Ode d'Anacreonte, e sopra alcune altre Poesie di diversi Lirici Poeti Greci. Secundo la preposta version Latina de'l'or più celebri Traduttori, pp. 190-200. Venice, 1670. 24mo.

Anacreontis et Sapphonis Carmina Tanaquillus Faber. Saumur, 1670. 24mo.

Theatrum Poetarum. Edward Phillips, 1675. 8vo. Notice

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A Treatise of the Loftiness or Elegancy of Speech, written originally in Greek by Longin and now translated out of French by Mr. J. Pulteney. London, 1680. 8vo. Second translation of Φαίνεταί ΜΟΙ ΚĤΝΟς, etc.

Les Poesies d'Anacréon et de Sappho traduites de Grec en François avec des Remarques. Paris, 1681. 12mo. The translator of this, the first French edition of the two poets, was Anne Lefévre, daughter of Tanneguy Lefévre. She was born about 1654 and married Andre Dacier. She died in the Louvre in 1720.

Her book was reprinted at Lyons in 1696, with "par Mademoiselle Lefévre" added to the title, and again at Amsterdam in 1699 with the title altered so as to read "avec des Remarques par Madame Dacier. Nouvelle Edition augmentée des Notes Latines de Mr. Le Févre." These three editions were all 12mo.

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The Spectator. Joseph Addison. Nos. 223, 229, 233. 1711. GAÇON, FRANÇOIS. Les Odes d'Anacréon et de Sappho, pp. 343-354, en vers François par le poéte Sans Fard. Rotterdam, 1712. 12mo.

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The foregoing list does not include books which contain merely a reference to Sappho, or a short quotation from her works either in English or in Greek, with no bearing on the bibliography of the subject.

THE END



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